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OSMAN PACHA, commonly called
COUNT BONNEVAL.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Baſhaw Count *Bonneval*,

From his BIRTH to his DEATH:

SHEWING,

The MOTIVES which induced him to quit the Service and Dominions of *FRANCE*; his Entrance into and ſudden Riſe in the *IMPERIAL* Armies; his Exploits in *ITALY*, *HUNGARY*, &c. his Quarrel with the Marquis DE PRIE, and its Conſequences; the true Cauſe of his Diſgrace at the Court of *VIENNA*; and the Reaſons which occaſioned him to ſeek an *Azylum* amongſt the *TURKS*; with his various Fortunes, while in the Service of the *PORTE*.

Interſperſed throughout

With an entertaining DIVERSITY of Secret Intrigues, Amorous Adventures, Military and Political Atchievements; being, in effect, the SECRET HISTORY of *EUROPE* for the beſt Part of the current Century.

Written by HIMSELF, *and collected from* His Papers.

LONDON:

Printed for *E. Withers*, at the *Seven Stars*, near the *Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*: *G. Woodfall*, the Corner of *Craig's-Court*, *Charing-Croſs*; and ſold by *R. Griffiths*, at the *Dunciad*, in *St. Paul's-Church-Yard*. M.DCC.L.

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THE PREFACE.

AS comets *are not only more gazed at by the vulgar, but claim even more attention from the learned, than the* planets, *or* fixed ſtars; *ſo it is certain, that the lives of great ſtateſmen, and conſummate generals, give leſs pleaſure, and are not apt to attract the conſideration, even of the better ſort of readers, near ſo much, as the memoirs of thoſe illuſtrious adventurers, who by the frequent changing of climates, and of maſters, have found the way to make the world ring at once with their fame, and with their follies. Theſe obſervations will account as well for the pains taken by* Plutarch, *and* Cornelius Nepos, *in celebrating the great exploits of* Alcibiades *and* Hannibal, *the numerous pieces that have been written in later times upon men of the like diſpoſition, who with great natural parts, and very high accompliſhments, have notwithſtanding been very irregular in their actions, as well as deficient in their morals.*

Amongſt theſe, there has hardly ever been a perſon more extraordinary in himſelf, or more differently ſet forth to the eyes of mankind, than CLAUDIUS ALEXANDER DE BONNEVAL,

known in the latter part of his life, by the name of OSMAN BASHAW. *In point of deſcent it is certain his pretenſions were very high; his family have been always regarded as one of the firſt in the* Limoſin: *and of this, ſtrangers cannot form the leaſt doubt, when they remember, that he married the daughter of the marſhal* DE BIRON, *duke and peer of* France. *He was very far from diſtinguiſhing himſelf, while a youth, by his learning; on the contrary, having a very ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure, he could not bear to paſs thoſe moments with his books, which he could ſpend more agreeably with other company. In proceſs of time, he perceived the prejudice occaſioned by this negligence: which, while on the one hand, he ſtrove to cover by affecting a contempt for learning, he laboured in ſome meaſure to retrieve on the other, by a ſecret application to books, not altogether without ſucceſs.*

He had a natural turn for poetry, as indeed moſt of the French *nobility have; but it did him very little ſervice, as he commonly applied it in epigrams, ballads, and other pieces of ſatire: He wrote alſo with much eaſe and ſpirit in proſe, had a very happy way in telling his own tale, and knew how to diſguiſe even his worſt actions under ſuch plauſible appearances, that it was impoſſible to converſe or correſpond with him long without believing him an honeſter, or at leaſt a leſs culpable man, than he really was. His addreſs was very noble and inſinuating; he lived always at an immenſe expence, and with a magnificence that really made him ſome,*

and

and procured him the appearance of many more friends; to this we may add, that his vivacity and conſtant good humour contributed not a little, as well as his great reputation in the army, where he had given unqueſtionable teſtimonies of clear courage, and upon ſome occaſions of more conduct than was expected from a man of his temper, to make him acceptable to thoſe, who were very far from having ſuch principles, or being in the leaſt inclined to ſhare in his debauches; and towards ſuch he would upon occaſion behave with much decency and reſerve.

His great foible was his vanity, and a moſt exceſſive inclination to talk of himſelf. He had likewiſe what rarely happens, a great propenſity to talk of fighting, and of courage, in which however he advanced nothing beyond the bounds of truth, tho' he was not altogether ſo tender of it in other reſpects; but in reſpect to military achievements, he would both do as much, and boaſt as much, as any man of his rank. Neither did his temper perceptibly alter as he grew in years, but he remained the ſame gallant man, and the ſame great talker, to his laſt hour. His paſſion for women was extravagant, and there were no ties ſo ſacred, as to reſtrain his actions, when hurried by his looſe inclinations. He loved rather the mirth, the freedom, the noiſe of the table, than downright drinking; tho' he had a very ſtrong head, and it may be he continued to preſerve his conſtitution, by the pains he took to avoid complying, in their utmoſt ſtrictneſs, with the laws of good fellowſhip among the Germans. *His dreſs and equipage were rich and expenſive, rather*

rather than gaudy, or even ſplendid; for with all his weakneſſes, Bonneval *was no fop, even in the earlieſt part of his life, any more than a ſloven when he was old. He was a good maſter, which made his ſervants, generally ſpeaking, very faithful to him; and he had a wonderful facility of unbending himſelf with them in private, without prejudice to that diſtance which it was neceſſary to obſerve in public; and when an* Engliſh *nobleman was very inquiſitive in* Italy *to know how he did this:* my lord, *returned he,* I have none about me but people that have ſenſe; and experience has taught me this leſſon, that a knave may be truſted, if you make it worth his while; but there is no putting confidence in a fool, treat him how you will. *Such were the qualities, ſuch the humour of this extraordinary man; as thoſe who knew him beſt have deſcribed him.*

The great rank to which count Bonneval *roſe in the imperial ſervice, was chiefly owing to his perſonal favour with prince* Eugene, *who was without queſtion one of the firmeſt friends in the world, and a man of all others, with whom it was eaſieſt to live in the ſtate of a dependant. But when it fell out, that count* Bonneval *piqued himſelf ſo much upon paying his court to the duke of* Orleans, *regent of* France, *there was no great wonder, that prince* Eugene *did not ſhew any extraordinary willingneſs to ſtoop to every thing that count* Bonneval *thought neceſſary to demonſtrate on one ſide, his attachment to the regent, and his family; and on the other, his ſuperior credit at the court of* Vienna; *which*

which credit never had, or could have, any other ſource, than the friendſhip and countenance of prince Eugene. *This having been exerted upon every other occaſion, in as high a degree as count* Bonneval *could wiſh, he bore this inſtance of the prince's coldneſs with very little temper, and without conſidering, that it did not ſo much ariſe from any alteration in the prince's affection to him, as from the change of his own meaſures, grounded to the full as much on whim, as intereſt. He expoſtulated this matter in ſuch high terms, as forced the prince to explain himſelf farther, than he was willing to have done; and which left the count no room to doubt, that he had not only loſt his favourite point, but the friendſhip and eſteem alſo of that all powerful patron, by whoſe influence he had carried every other point. It is to the rage, excited by this proſpect, that we muſt attribute the ſtrange ſtep which compleated his fall; of demanding ſatisfaction of a prince, who, if he had not been ſo much ſuperior in every other reſpect to count* Bonneval, *ought moſt certainly to have been exempted from ſuch treatment, on the ſcore of having been his benefactor; the protector of his worſt, and the author of his beſt fortunes.*

The difficulties into which he was preſently brought, by this wild ſtep, drew very undeſerved diſgrace upon the beſt poet France *has had to boaſt, ſince* Boileau. *This unfortunate gentleman, after having been obliged to leave* France, *rather through the intrigues of his enemies, than for any offence that he committed, retired into the* Auſtrian Low Countries; *where, at the recommendation*

commendation of count Bonneval, *he was very well received, and afterwards introduced not to the preſence only, but into the favour alſo of prince* Eugene; *the firſt fruits of which was, the delivering him from all anxiety and diſtreſs: for his ſerene highneſs was one of thoſe few great men, who could not enjoy any ſatisfaction in the company of a man of letters, while he had reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was plunged in difficulties, and knew not how to extricate himſelf; and his firſt compliments, how great ſoever they might be, were only an earneſt of what he meant ſhould follow; for tho' it is certain, prince* Eugene *was often miſtaken in his favourites, yet it is as certain, that never any of his friends, or his dependants were miſtaken, or neglected by him, ſo long as their own behaviour would permit him to do them good.*

At the time that count Bonneval *had brought his affairs into ſo embarraſſed a condition at* Vienna, *Mr.* Rouſſeau *was at* Bruſſels, *ſoliciting the paſſage through the neceſſary offices of a grant of a good employment, procured him by prince* Eugene; *but no ſooner had the misfortune of his friend reached his ears, than he forgot the care of his own intereſt, to ſhew his attention to thoſe of count* Bonneval. *In ſhort he ſet out for the court directly, and addreſſed himſelf with a degree of vehemence to prince* Eugene, *that gave his highneſs a far better idea of his ſincerity, than of his diſcretion. The prince told him roundly, that things were gone too far, for him to think of a reconciliation with count* Bonneval, *even if he ſought it, which he*

was

was perſuaded he would not: and therefore all that could follow from Mr. Rouſſeau's *perſiſting in his application, was falling into the ſame ſituation. The poet heard this declaration without the leaſt emotion, and his reply was to this effect:* "*Be it ſo then, ſince it can be no other-*" *wiſe; it was to M.* Bonneval's *recommendation,* "*I owed your highneſs's favour and protection;* "*ſince you have deprived him of your friendſhip,* "*let me likewiſe loſe your countenance; I had ra-*" *ther die in miſery, than live under the imputa-*" *tion of ingratitude.*" *The reader may depend upon it, that this is not a ſtory or a ſpeech contrived to entertain him, but a plain matter of fact.* Rouſſeau *lived and died miſerably; but the memory of his virtue will laſt as long as his writings; that is, as long as there are men of fine taſtes, and of gentle natures in the world.*

Theſe are particulars which will enable the reader to form a true idea of that amazing perſonage, whoſe memoirs are the ſubject of the book; whoſe vices and irregularities made him deteſted by thoſe, who knew him only by character; and whoſe perſonal good qualities, that air of freedom, and that willingneſs to oblige, which always attending him, made him reſpected and eſteemed by thoſe, with whom he converſed. He knew his own character perfectly, and it was the ſecret of all others that ſerved him moſt. He practiſed every art to find admittance to thoſe of whom he ſtood in need, and he never failed to procure their aſſiſtance, without deſcending to any thing that looked like flattery, or ſervile

vile ſubmiſſion; to which either in Chriſtendom *or* Turkey *he could never ſtoop.*

Reader, it is now time that we ſhould part, the frontiſpiece prefixed to the book, will make you acquainted with the man; the buſineſs of this preface, was to give you a picture of his mind: I have done it with all the ſtrength and ſincerity in my power; and if I have ſucceeded as well as the graver, I am very ſure we ſhall part content.

MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT *BONNEVAL.*

SECT. I. PART I.

IT came into my head to write the hiſtory of my life: I am ſenſible that it is a *whim*; but I have purſued it. I ſhould, indeed, be very much *embarraſſed*, were I obliged to give an account of the reaſons that determined me to a deſign, which I never thought myſelf capable to execute. The irkſomeneſs of that ſolitude, to which my evil ſtars, and the malice of my enemies, have reduced me; the deſire of making my own innocence, and falſity of thoſe aſperſions with which I have been blackened, known to the whole world; complaiſance for a friend that came to ſeek me out, and requeſted that I would give him a faithful relation of all my adventures;—all this, and ſome other conſiderations, which are needleſs to mention, occaſioned my taking pen in hand. I ſhall not plead, that I ſat down to write, purpoſely to amuſe myſelf; but own, that I did it with a

view of preventing any other writer, leſs inſtructed, from undertaking my hiſtory: for I flatter myſelf with being, at leaſt, become famous enough to merit that regard. In ſpeaking of myſelf, the reader may be ſure to meet with the truth, and find me painted juſt as I am; without flattering my good qualities, or ſhewing any favour to my faults.

I ſhall ſay nothing of my family, as I believe that every body knows it has the honour of being related to the royal blood of *France*. I was the eldeſt of many children. When I came into the world, there happened a dreadful ſtorm, that beat down the croſs of a church ſteeple, and that which was on the front of the church. The curate of the pariſh, (for it was in the country) caſt my nativity, which was never known but to my father, my mother, and myſelf. He did it in an hieroglyphic, which he drew with *Indian* ink. It was the figure of an eagle, which bore a flower-de-luce, ſurmounted by a *creſcent* in his beak. I kept it by me for ſome time, without being able to make any thing out of it, until I quitted the *French* ſervice, to enter into the emperor's; then I diſcovered a little what the *creſcent* meant; but thinking myſelf to be a fanciful fool, I threw it into the fire. I could bring many arguments upon this point, to juſtify my proceeding, but that is not the purpoſe for which I am writing.

My education was ſuitable to my birth; but it muſt not be ſaid to be very good: for a chamber-maid, and a little foot-boy, that they had given me, prevented my receiving thoſe ſentiments of piety, which a good preceptor endeavoured to inſpire me with. The duke of *Chartres*, ſince duke of *Orleans*, and regent of *France*, to whom I often paid my court, was much of the ſame character; and at leaſt as well inſtructed as I could be. I paſs thoſe times over lightly, tho' I can remember them

them very diſtinctly. I ſhall only ſay, that even then I entertained ſentiments of honour; that I would not have forfeited my word for any thing in the world, and that I was incapable of bearing an affront.

As there was a talk of war, and I having no inclination for ſtudy, and being already luſty enough, my father took a reſolution of ſending me to the *academy*. My inclination for arms, gave me a reliſh for my exerciſes; ſo that I gave myſelf entirely to them. I made ſome progreſs therein, my father kept me at the academy eighteen months, and the time paſſed away with me very pleaſantly. My governor was a man of parts: he was not one of the moſt devout in the world, but he had ſenſe and honeſty. He took care to cultivate that ſtock of honour, which he found I was naturally endued with; and continually repeated to me, that a contempt of life ought to be the character of a man of quality; and that death was preferable to the leaſt taint of cowardice. This it is that has always been my guide, and I hope I ſhall never depart from this great maxim. He inſpired me with a taſte for reading; I peruſed all ſorts of books, and eſpecially thoſe that treated of war and politicks. This taſte has continued with me ever ſince, and has not left me even yet.

After I had finiſhed my exerciſes, I entered into the muſqueteers, at little more than ſixteen years of age. They preſented me to the king, who had the goodneſs to tell me, that he would paſs over my age on account of the good character that he had heard of me, and commanded me to behave myſelf in ſuch a manner, as to continue it.

The muſqueteers are an excellent ſchool for valour, but very bad for any thing elſe. One muſt live there, as the reſt do, that is, one muſt either be a rake and a libertine, or appear ſo, at leaſt. It

gave me no trouble, to conform to this manner of life; I can even ſay without vanity, that I ſoon excelled in it; and tho' I was the youngeſt among them, I was not the leaſt reſpected; conducting myſelf in ſuch a manner as to give no offence to my commanders, by want of diligence in the ſervice. Young and full of fire, as I was then, it was difficult to avoid quarrels: notwithſtanding which I met with but one, which was occaſioned in the following manner.

The marquis of *C*———, captain of horſe, was about a year or two in garriſon in the neighbourhood of *Straſbourg*. He often went thither, where he had a miſtreſs; but he quitted her in a very unhandſome way. She reſolved to be revenged on him, and executed her purpoſe in a cruel manner. She undertook to write to the rector of the Jeſuits, in the name of the marquis of *Lovain*. The letter imported, that ſuch an officer of horſe would come to him; and that the king deſired he would order him to have five and twenty laſhes given him, by the hands of the corrigidor of the college, in the preſence of three or four of his moſt venerable brethren. It was alſo notified in the letter, that the patient ſhould extend himſelf upon a table, and keep his thumbs croſſed during the performance, that he ſhould give ten louis d'ors to the corrigidor, and return him thanks for the chaſtiſement he had received. The letter concluded with an injunction to the rector to return a punctual account of the manner in which theſe commands were executed.

At the ſame time, that this ridiculous letter was read at the college of Jeſuits, and they were overjoyed at having the confidence of the marquis of *Lovain*, the captain of horſe received one from the ſame hand; wherein he was ordered to go the next *Friday* to the rector of the Jeſuits, who would acquaint him with the king's commands. He waited impatiently for

for the day, and went punctually to the college, at the time appointed, which was at eight in the morning. He was immediately conducted into an inner hall, where he was met by the reverend fathers, who ſignified to him the orders they had received. The weak monaſticks, who did not comprehend, that theſe orders, being attended with ſuch ridiculous circumſtances, could never come from court, exhorted the captain, by all the motives that intereſt or religion could dictate, to ſubmit himſelf to the order. He having the folly to be perſwaded by them, put himſelf in the poſture that the letter directed, and was handſomely flogged. He gave ten louis d'ors to his corrector, returned him thanks, and the Jeſuits promiſed him ſecrecy. But his entertainment being accompanied by a *mercury* *, dictated by his miſchievous lady, the whole affair was diſcovered, and he diſappeared; very likely he turned capuchin, as he had no other courſe left him to take.

It is eaſy to imagine, how this news was received by the muſqueteers, and how they bantered the others upon it. I cannot recollect whether I did it in a tarter manner than the reſt; but it might be ſo, as I always expreſſed myſelf very briſkly, and called things by their right name. However it was, we had amongſt us a kinſman of the chaſtiſed marquis, who thought proper to call me to account for the jokes we had paſſed. We fought on the backſide of the *Invalids*; but as I diſarmed him, there was no blood ſhed; and we returned together to our quarters, as tho' we had been only taking a walk. There was ſome ſuſpicion of our diſpute; but notwithſtanding the rigour of edicts, thoſe honeſt gentry the officers never ſearch into the bottom of thoſe matters, unleſs when they cannot help it. He quitted our corps, a ſhort time after, under pre-

* News-Paper.

tence of an ill ſtate of health. I promiſed him to keep our affair ſecret, and kept my word very punctually. Neither would I have mentioned it now, but as I know it is impoſſible for any one to find out who he was.

I did not make the campaign in 1689, on account of my youth; but I preſſed ſo ſtrongly for it, that I was permitted to make the next. As I had a very great inclination for my profeſſion, and found myſelf of a genius to ſucceed in it; ſo I applied myſelf to the obtaining of inſtruction, with all the diligence poſſible: I remarked every circumſtance, and enquired the reaſons of them, not only of the officers, but alſo of thoſe old ſoldiers that had ſerved under *Turenne*, and the marſhal *de Crequi:* and I can ſay, that I found many of them as able to inſtruct me, as thoſe officers that were of greater repute. We are well led this year, ſays an old foot-ſoldier to me, I ſaw it from our firſt ſetting out; it is not now, as it was laſt year, when we were harraſſed without knowing for what; when they made us attack walls that the cannon could hardly make a breach in, and then, when they were taken, what did we make of them, ſeeing that between the place, and the enemy, there was a large defile, which hindered us from attacking them? Obſerve, continued he, this camp wherein we are now: we have here all the advantages that we can wiſh for; our convoys come to us unmoleſted; our cavalry has good paſture, where nothing can hurt them; we repoſe quietly; whereas laſt year we were continually in alarm. But, I believe, added he, that we ſhall ſoon decamp, and that *Luxembourgh* will make a puſh; ſo much the better, he may depend upon us, as we do upon him. I took great delight in theſe ſort of diſcourſes, and my curioſity gained me ſome reputation in the army. We really did decamp, as the old ſoldier had predicted, and in a

few

few days after we fought the battle of *Flerus*. I was in the action, and can alſo ſay, that I behaved myſelf manfully; and if every one elſe had performed as much as I did, there had not been one of our enemies left alive. I remember, particularly, that I killed two *Germans*; I ſhot one in the head with a piſtol, and ſtabbed the other in the breaſt with my ſword. I have been in ſeveral actions ſince, without doing ſuch exploits, excepting that againſt the *Turks*. All that I know of the battle is, that we were victorious, that *Waldeck* ſaved himſelf as well as he could, and gathered together the broken remnants of his army, under the cannon of a ſtrong place; that we remained maſters of the field, and our ſoldiers abounded in plunder. I have yet actually by me a pair of damaſquined piſtols, that I gave a ſoldier four piſtoles for. As for the particulars of the battle, I muſt confeſs, that I had too much employment on my own hands, and was too ſtrongly engaged, to mind what paſſed elſewhere. It was not until even ſome days afterwards, that I underſtood the dextrous management of M. *de Luxembourg*, in marching a party of his right, under favour of a little hill, to engage the enemy more advantagiouſly on the left. It was thought in the army to be a flying camp, that hearing the noiſe of the cannon, were come up to take *Waldeck* in the flank; at leaſt, I remember to have read ſo in ſome relation.

I continued a year in the muſqueteers, tho' they did not ſpare my money, ſo that I had never enough; plays, treats, and entertainments, ſoon conſumed all my friends gave me; beſides, I began then to get acquainted with the women players, and thoſe creatures are always inſatiable.

The campaign came on, and I was of the detachment, that was appointed to ſerve in *Flanders*. The enemy's army was commanded by the prince

of *Orange*, who had juſt accompliſhed the making himſelf king of *England*. He underſtood the art of war, and knew how to conduct himſelf, ſo as to avoid coming to an engagement. Both armies did nothing but camp and decamp, for the conveniency of forage, and the covering of each of their countries. This inaction grew very tireſome to me; I had rather that each day had been the day of battle: I employed myſelf as I had done the preceding year. By my converſation and remarks, I obtained a knowledge of the different operations of war, of the manner of conducting the convoys, and of the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of parties. I applied myſelf particularly to get acquainted with the ſituation of the country: there was not a rivulet, a hedge, or a defile, but what I knew; and the knowledge I then obtained, has ſince been of great ſervice, againſt thoſe whom I then intended to put it in practice for.

The armies were then upon the point of ſeparating, for going into winter-quarters. We were in the neighbourhood of *Tournay*, and the enemy was about ſix leagues from us. They decamped firſt. M. *de Luxembourg*, always attentive to every opportunity of acting, thought that their diſtance might perhaps make them neglect the neceſſary precautions for ſecuring their march, and he could ſurpriſe their rear-guard before they could paſs the river *Catoire*. He put himſelf at the head of the king's houſehold troops, and marched ſo briſkly at night, that in the morning we came up with them on the ſide of the village of *Leuze*, before the enemy had any intelligence of us. That village covering us we halted, put ourſelves in order of battle, and then paſſing on full ſpeed, we found the rear-guard of the enemy ſcattered about very negligently, on the banks of the river, which they had to paſs. We charged without giving them time to rally: it was not a battle, but a defeat. Some

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ſquadrons, that formed themſelves in haſte, endeavoured to keep their ground; but they were broke almoſt in an inſtant, and we drove them to the very brink of the river. The foot coming to their aſſiſtance prevented their total defeat. They were greatly ſuperior in numbers; but what could troops do when ſurpriſed in diſorder? This action was glorious to the general that deſigned and conducted it; nevertheleſs I did not think it redounded much to our honour, by diſcomfiting thoſe that were unable to reſiſt us.

I did not like the life of a muſqueteer, and was determined to continue no longer in that corps. It was with much trouble that I obtained the favour of a troop of horſe; for the maxims of M. *de Louvois*, who was dead, were yet followed. This miniſter had made it a rule to put, even at the head of companies, only thoſe that had experience in the ſervice. I ſtill ſerved in *Flanders*, but the horſe had little ſhare in the ſucceſs that we had there.

The king beſieged *Namure* in perſon, and took it in a very little time, conſidering the continual rains and the ſtrength of the place. I ſtudied the operations of the ſiege, as much as poſſibly I could; and to employ myſelf, I very often went upon parties. I had often heard ſay, that it is there one muſt learn the art of war: how to conduct a troop, form a deſign, or lay an ambuſcade: and I found that they had not deceived me, for it was in theſe excurſions that I acquired the little I know. I was beloved by my ſoldiers; and there was not one of them, but would have ſacrificed himſelf for me: a free and courteous behaviour attached them to me; beſides I accounted nothing as my own, and never ſhared in the booty which they took, when under my command.

The king of *England* ſeemed to have a great inclination to relieve *Namure*, nevertheleſs he durſt not

not paſs the *Mehainge*; marſhal *Luxembourg* was always in the way, to diſpute the paſſage with him. *Namure* being taken, *Lewis* XIV. returned to *Verſailles*.

Both armies equally endeavoured to avoid each other. Our cavalry being the ſtrongeſt, we would fain have drawn the enemy out to engage in the plain; and they on the contrary, being ſtrongeſt in foot, choſe an encloſed ſituation, where our horſe would be uſeleſs to us. We were encamped at *Steinkerque*, a woody country, and full of hedges. That camp was pitched upon for the conveniency of forage; large defiles lay between us and the allies, which it was impoſſible for them to paſs, without our knowing of it ſoon enough to put ourſelves in a proper poſture to receive them. Nevertheleſs the prince of *Orange* found means to do it; for having diſcovered that a man in the duke of *Bavaria*'s ſervice, was one of our ſpies, he forced him to write in his preſence to marſhal *Luxembourg*, not to regard the motions that we ſhould make on the day following, as they were only deſigned to ſecure a grand foraging. This falſe advice had as much effect as could be wiſhed for: we did not concern ourſelves with the motions of the enemy, who paſſed the defiles, having driven ſome brigades of foot from their poſt, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their cannon, before we perceived their deſign. I was preſent in courſe; but I underſtood from the moſt intelligent officers, and, among others, from the marquis *de Feuquieres*, that if marſhal *Luxembourg* had had leſs preſence of mind, or that the prince of *Orange* had got the better, we were irrecoverably loſt; and that we ſhould have been hardly mentioned again, during the reſt of the campaign. Our victory was, that we were not beaten as we deſerved to have been, that we repulſed the

the enemy, and drove them back beyond the defiles.

I was ſo attached to my troop, that I paſſed the winter at *Liſle*, excepting one month that I ſpent at *Paris*. *Liſle* is a handſome city; and every body there of any diſtinction, or that would be accounted ſo, have taken up the *French* faſhions; they make great entertainments, and play deeply. I frequented much the houſe of one *la Randiere*, a very rich man, that valued himſelf much on his fortune. He had two daughters tolerably handſome, and of amiable characters. My particular friend, *Stoupe*, a *Swiſs* colonel, courted the eldeſt, and was married to her in a year or two after. The youngeſt was very much to my taſte. But as I had no reliſh for matrimony, I only ſought to paſs time away, in ſuch a manner, as I would not injure her. We took a very particular method to converſe privately together.

Their carriages were kept at a diſtance from the houſe, where the coach-houſes being at the bottom of the garden, and a high palliſade covered the building, we uſed to go thither, without being perceived; and ſeating ourſelves in a coach, we told our ſecrets to each other. I can proteſt, that I never abuſed her indulgence. I had not more diſcretion than another; but I always held it for a rule, that it was unbecoming a man of honour to diſgrace a houſe, where he has admittance on the footing of a friend.

The campaign of 1693, opened in ſuch a manner as promiſed great matters. *Lewis* XIV. was come to put himſelf at the head of us, and as he would not have taken ſuch a ſtep but upon ſure footing, we expected ſome very conſiderable event. But a camp well choſen by the prince of *Orange*, diſconcerted all the projects we had formed. *Lewis* quitted us all on a ſudden, without our ever knowing

knowing for what; and ſent a great detachment into *Germany*, under the command of monſieur, his brother. I had a mind to have gone thither, expecting that they would do great exploits with ſuch numerous forces; but they contented themſelves with only reconnoitering the prince of *Baden*'s camp: whereas marſhal *Luxembourg* found means to draw *William* III. from the poſt that he had rendered impregnable; to oblige him to fight, at a time when his army was weakened by great detachments; and to obtain over him a compleat and moſt glorious victory.

The action begun at day-break, by attacking the village of *Neerwinden*. But as I was in the horſe, and the foot only were concerned in that action, I ſhall ſay nothing of it; for I will not ſpeak of any thing but what I have ſeen, and what I have had ſome ſhare in. We were poſted ſo as to march to the enemy's intrenchments; and we endured the fire of their cannon for ſeveral hours. At laſt we marched up to them, about one o'clock, under the command of M. *de Feuquieres*.

Our foot having drove thoſe of the allies from the front intrenchments, we entered their camp by three or four paſſages, and I had the honour to enter one of the foremoſt, on a ſide that was only barricadoed with ſome carriages. Perhaps, the enemy only reſerved theſe openings to pour out upon us, after we were repulſed. I do not know how it was with the other troops of horſe, but that which I was in, met with no reſiſtance. Terror ſeized the whole army, all on a ſudden, and the confuſion was ſo great, thet they left us the field of battle, with their cannon and baggage; and one part of them threw themſelves in a river that retarded their flight. The general report of the army was, that we were driven twice or thrice out of *Neerwinden*; not through the want of bravery, but of ſkill and management

management in thoſe that conducted that attack; and the battle would have held two or three hours the leſs, if marſhal *Villeroy* had attacked the intrenchments, the firſt time that the enemy quitted them, to reinforce the troops that defended *Neerwinden*. But this public clamour did not prevent his being appointed eighteen months after to ſucceed marſhal *Luxemburg*.

The little uſe that I ſaw made of the cavalry, they appearing to me to be only for ſhew and parade, gave me a diſtaſte for that ſervice. I aſked for, and obtained, a regiment of foot. I took infinite pains, and ſpared for nothing to get fine men; and the reputation, that I had of loving my ſoldiers, brought me choice of them. If I would have believed my troopers, they would all have become foot-ſoldiers, rather than quit my command. I ſpent the whole winter in forming and diſciplining them; but above all in eſtabliſhing a union between the ſoldiers and officers; and I can ſay, that I ſucceeded ſo perfectly in it, that we ſeemed to be but one family.

I was appointed to ſerve in *Flanders*. Marſhal *Luxemburgh*, who honoured me with his friendſhip and eſteem, had ſhare in that deſtination. The campaign was very tranquil on both ſides: tho' Monſieur commanded us, yet there was neither battle or ſiege, or, at leaſt, that deſerves my mentioning: nevertheleſs, I knew how to employ myſelf. I was perpetually in motion about the enemy's camp, with a party of my regiment, from whence we every day took ſome baggage, or harraſſed their convoys. But in the month of *July*, I learned that a convoy of money was to come to the enemy's camp from the *Bruſſels* ſide.

I took two hundred men with me, and placed them in ambuſcade in the corn, which was then very high, about half a league diſtant from the camp.

camp. There are almoſt always ſtragglers on thoſe occaſions: two waggons breaking down, they had not time to mend them, ſo that they were obliged to march a little league after the others, eſcorted by twenty-four foot-ſoldiers, and ſixty dragoons. As it did not want above half an hour of night, we were upon the point of retiring, when we perceived them: we crept along the corn to the ſide of the road they were obliged to paſs thro'. The eſcorte being almoſt within ſight of their camp, and having perceived nothing in the plain, from off the riſing-grounds, were very negligent: we fell upon them; part of them were killed, the reſt ſaved themſelves; but I detached a party of my men to diſperſe them, and prevent their getting together again. One of the waggons was loaded with money, the other with ſtrong waters; I took the money, and broke the veſſels of liquor in pieces: I charged my men not to drink, and they obeyed me: the waggons were deſtroyed, and the horſes left to the carters, whom I ordered to be hoodwinked, for fear they ſhould obſerve the road we took. In a word we returned without being purſued. I ordered that the booty ſhould be divided amongſt thoſe companies, from whence I had drawn the detachments to form my party; and as this time I had taken ſome men out of every company, ſo all my regiment had ſhare of the prize. The next morning every one brought me what they had, and there was ninety-five thouſand livres in gold and ſilver. Every ſoldier had one hundred and fifty; the ſerjeants two hundred each; and the reſt was divided among the officers, according to their rank I refuſed taking any thing; but they all agreed to leave me a tenth part; which amounted to near ten thouſand livres. They ſeemed to be willing, that I ſhould keep it; but, nevertheleſs, I made them take all back again. I would not ſuffer the men to debauch themſelves: and

and this diſtribution was laid out, as I intended, in providing them with neceſſaries.

I made another expedition, which was leſs profitable, but required much more conduct. Three leagues off *Bruſſels*, almoſt by the *Louvain* road, was a large market town, incompaſſed with a ſtrong hedge. This town might contain two thouſand inhabitants, of which, at leaſt, five hundred were armed. I formed a deſign of ranſoming it; therefore I took two thirds of my regiment along with me, and borrowed a good many drums of my friends. I inveſted the town in the night time, and placed the drums at the bottom of the ſeveral avenues, with orders to beat their different marches, and make themſelves heard, as ſoon as the attack was begun. At day-break we entered at three ſeveral places. They would have defended themſelves at firſt; but hearing the noiſe of the drums on different ſides, made them imagine, that other troops were coming to join us; ſo they threw down their arms. I ordered them to be brought to me, and that twenty of the principal inhabitants ſhould be ſecured in a houſe that I appointed, as hoſtages for their not ſending to alarm the neighbouring garriſons. The plunder was conducted very orderly, without any violence, or coſting the life of any perſon; and amounted to thirty or forty thouſand livres, without reckoning a prodigious quantity of hams.

This conduct made me eſteemed by the general officers, and drew on me the jealouſy and envy of moſt part of thoſe of my own rank, who had not courage enough to follow my example. They accuſtomed themſelves to ſleep till noon: ſome had even their toilets, and came out of their tents curled and powdered, as tho' they were come out of a bagnio. Nevertheleſs theſe were the perſons that I ſince ſaw preferred before me, by a *Chamillard*, who never underſtood

underſtood war, or regarded true merit. I ſhall be pardoned theſe ſtrokes againſt a man, who has been the chief cauſe of my extravagances and diſgrace.

The methods that I took to form myſelf, to train up my ſoldiers, and to give them eaſe, brought on me many commiſſions of much importance. I was often ſent out upon diſcovery, to obſerve the motions of the enemy, their ſituation, and to reconnoitre the ground where we intended to encamp. My reports were always found to be very exact. The charge of conducting ſeveral convoys was entruſted to me; and none of them were taken or moleſted. In the famous march which we made in that campaign, I was the firſt that arrived at *Dieſpierres*'s bridge, with a detachment of five hundred horſe, each of which carried one of my foot ſoldiers behind them.

Marſhal *Luxemburg*, my profeſſed patron, died at the beginning of the next year. The marquis *de Barbeſieux* was young. He was miſtaken in every thing; ſo that he had nothing of the reputation of his father. To ſupport himſelf, he was obliged to have regard to the recommendation of thoſe in whoſe power it lay to do him prejudice: So that the commands, and even the winter quarters were given by favour. My regiment was placed about *Calais*; a bad country, and unhealthy: I loſt there above five hundred ſoldiers. To compleat my misfortune, I was appointed to ſerve on the *Rhine*, where there was nothing to be done; but I was forced to obey. I would have acted as I had done in *Flanders*, but they hindered me, and even affected to keep me inactive. I had more liberty in 1696, when thirteen of my ſoldiers took the governor of *Mentz*; and they began to talk of me as they had done in *Flanders*. Peace was made; and notwithſtanding all the efforts of my friends, my regiment was broke, and I was put upon the

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liſt of diſbanded colonels. I ſhould have had no room to complain, if the ordinance had been general; on the contrary, many were excepted, that had never ſignalized themſelves.

Almoſt ſurfeited with the ſervice, I gave myſelf up to amuſement and pleaſures. My father died at that time, and left me maſter of a pretty conſiderable fortune. Altho' I was never attached to money affairs, and hated them in the higheſt degree, yet then I gave ſome attention to them. I put one in charge to manage my revenue, ſo that I might live as a man of my quality ought to do, and that I might not run in debt. I have always followed this maxim; and though I have made a great figure every where, yet I do not think any body has any demands upon me.

Our amuſements were play, entertainments, and public ſhews, mixed with ſome amours. I was particularly in friendſhip with the marquis of *S. M.* the counts *de Riſand*, *de F*——, and a *German* baron. We were never aſunder. I told them one day that we lived diſorderly; that we muſt regulate ourſelves a little; at leaſt to avoid ſcandal. I drew them up a plan for our conduct; whereby we were never to ſee one another but in the evening, and that four times a week. The rendezvous was either at the opera, or at the play. From thence we took a hackney-coach, and went to ſup together. The places we were to ſup at were ſettled. In four different parts of *Paris*, we were to have two honeſt girls, lodged with creditable people, where we went by turns. We allowed each couple two crowns a day, and a *louis d'or* from each of us when we ſupped there, without reckoning the little preſents that we made them at diſcretion. The other rules imported, that every one ſhould retire before four o'clock in the morning; that none ſhould get in liquor; that there ſhould be two beds in each

apartment, where we might lie three and three; that they ſhould keep ſecrecy; that none ſhould be called by their own name, or bring any ſervant with them. He that failed coming to the rendezvous, was to forfeit two *louis d'ors*, to the benefit of the ladies, at whoſe houſes he ſhould have been, upon condition that his partner ſupped for him.

We found at *Paris* all that we wiſhed: in leſs than eight days, my valet de chambre, and that of M. *de S. M.* put us in a condition to practiſe our ſtatutes; and we found them very agreeable. Our firſt aſſembly was in the ſuburbs of *St. Victor*, towards *l'Eſtrapade*, at a perſon's houſe, who called herſelf an officer's widow. We found a very neat apartment, and two ladies young and handſome. Supper being ready, we ſat down to table. The converſation was ſuch as befitted a houſe of pleaſure, and we retired very well contented. We had the ſame in the ſuburbs of *St. Germain*, in the *Marêts*, and near *St. Honore*'s gate. This courſe of life held with us for ſix months, without ever being ſuſpected, we obſerving the rules very punctually: there was no diſturbance or diſorder among us, and the lovely girls were always contented with our behaviour and liberality. I do not know how it was with my companions, but it coſt me two thouſand crowns at leaſt. It was no diſtaſte that broke up our ſociety; but the baron was obliged to depart from *Paris*, and the count *de B*—— fell ill.

Freſh amuſements ſucceeded to theſe, which I varied as much as poſſible. The taſte for reading, that I had contracted at the academy, overtook me again; I read all ſorts of books upon religion, both *pro* and *con*, whether they were good or bad; and far from finding any thing therein to fix upon, my doubts and uncertainties increaſed. I imagined, and even perſwaded myſelf, that it was ſufficient to

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be an honeſt man; that is to ſay, to be free, juſt, diſintereſted, exact to my word, a good friend, an open enemy, without malice, and ready both for forgiveneſs and reconciliation: this is what I endeavoured to be; and I may ſay, I have been; and that I continue ſo more than ever, age having abated the too great vivacity of my temper.

I never picked any quarrels, neither did I make it a point of wiſdom to avoid them; not thinking that any edicts obliged me to be guilty of cowardice. On occaſion of ſome talk, I had two or three rencounters at *Paris:* in one of which I was the aggreſſor, and came of unwounded; and gave thoſe enough of it, with whom I fought: one of them, that was upon the point of marrying, died in about a fortnight. I was ſorry for his misfortune, tho' he brought it upon himſelf by not being ſatisfied with the firſt blood. His death, and the perſons wounded, made a great noiſe; I was ſuſpected; they ſought for proof, but could find none. They affirmed, that they knew nothing of the perſons, with whom they had been engaged; that the quarrel aroſe by chance, upon ſome words and behaviour which they reſented; and they deſcribed the perſons in ſuch as manner, as nobody could find them out.

Theſe ſuſpicions, joined to certain words that eſcaped me concerning religion, together with my profuſe and diſſolute manner of living, prevailed againſt me; otherwiſe I was very well at court, where I conſtantly paid my reſpects; but every body knows, that the favour of princes of the blood is not the ſureſt way to promotion; ſometimes that of a little commiſſary is more uſeful. In 1700, there was much talk of a war. The death of *Charles* II. king of *Spain*, and the will that he made in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, which *Lewis* XIV. admitted of without weighing it, rendered a war unavoidable. I offered my ſervice, but it was

coldly received. Nevertheleſs as my reputation was better than many others, and they would have been inveighed againſt for refuſing me; ſo I had leave to raiſe a regiment of two battallions. I compleated my regiment with the ſame facility as before, or rather eaſier; moſt of thoſe that came to offer themſelves to me would take no money. I was ordered to march into *Italy*.

The firſt campaign was very unfortunate, and diſagreeable. We were betrayed; and prince *Eugene*, who commanded the emperor's army, got intelligence of all our deſigns. He knew even the number and ſtrength of every party that was ſent out from the camp, ſo that which way ſoever they took, they were always met by thoſe that were ſtronger, and always beaten. I ſoon ſaw into the affair, and reſtrained my ſoldiers, ſo that they did not go out but by my orders. I was not at the action of *Carpi*; all that I know is, that it would have been eaſy to have prevented the *Germans* penetrating into *Italy*; whereas they entered it without reſiſtance. This affair, as little deciſive as it was, did great injury to marſhal *de Catinat*: his enemies made uſe of it to diſcredit him, and ſacrificed him to the duke of *Savoy*, whoſe fidelity he had juſtly rendered ſuſpicious. The marſhal was worthy of the poſt that he held, as he had given proof ſeveral times in the laſt war; but he was too modeſt, and did not know how to make himſelf valued. He was relieved by the marſhal *de Villeroi*, whom they looked upon at court as a great general. He had at leaſt the appearance of one. He was one of the beſt made men I ever ſaw, and his great belt (of which there were ſo many jokes made) became him wonderfully well. If his carriage had been a little more ſprightly, and more fire in his eyes, there would have been nothing wanting, in his appearance, to plead in his favour. Soon after his arrival, he had

had a mind to ſignalize himſelf. Prince *Eugene* was encamped near the *Oglio*, having that river at his back, and the town of *Chiari* in front, of which it was abſolutely neceſſary to become poſſeſſed, if they would attack him. The duke of *Savoy*, and marſhal *de Villeroi*, reſolved to do it. Without doubt prince *Eugene* had notice of it, and prepared to give us a good reception. He could not poſſibly have in the town above four or five thouſand men, tho' all his foot was there; and what the town could not contain, were poſted ſo as to ſuccour thoſe that defended it. We attacked them with all the vigour imaginable: we even broke into their firſt intrenchment; but we found we were received with ſuch a terrible fire, and ſo well aimed, that we were obliged to retire, after loſing above three thouſand men. I was twenty times near being killed, but eſcaped with two ſlight wounds, and brought back but two hundred men of my regiment. This great loſs, which fell ſo heavy on me, and the diſtinguiſhed manner in which I behaved at *Chiari*, ought to have obtained me ſome favour. There was a numerous promotion of general officers, but I was not one among them; it ſtopped preciſely at thoſe of my ſtanding: however, I comforted myſelf with the hope of being preferred the next time.

I had no temptation to return to *Paris*; not even to my wife, that I had married three or four months before my ſetting out for *Italy*. She came of a good family, being daughter to the marquis *de Biron*, was young, and if not handſome, was well made, without any diſagreeableneſs. I was ſure, that ſhe loved me, and I eſteemed her; but the name of wife apparently hindered my returning her love for love. It was ſome ſort againſt my inclination, that I married: but my complaiſance for my family, and for Mr. *Biron*, whom I reſpected very much, determined me to it. I repent ſincerely of

it, and for having reduced to a ſtate of celibacy, a perſon that deſerved to be loved: it is the greateſt fault that I have to reproach myſelf with.

I paſſed the winter in a very pretty little city upon the *Po*, at five or ſix leagues diſtance from *Cremona*, in going down towards the *Mantuan*; and applied myſelf to the re-eſtabliſhing of my regiment. I was very near the *German* quarters, and many *Frenchmen*, that they had among them, came to me; they were all old ſoldiers that had ſerved in the former war. I received them with pleaſure, and had no need of any of the recruits that came to us from *France*. I loved women, but could not entertain a conſtant paſſion for any one. I could have found an hundred, inſtead of one, to amuſe myſelf with, but that would not do: my caprice induced me to attach myſelf to a nun. She was but twenty years of age, and really a beauty. She was of a conſiderable family in this country, being ſacrificed for her brother, one of the moſt pitiful wretches that I ever knew. The houſe that I lodged in, looking upon the convent, I got a ſight of her by chance thro' a window that was opened to be mended. I was aſtoniſhed:——I ſaluted her: ſhe returned my ſalute in a very gracious manner, without ſeeming diſpleaſed at the rencounter. I ordered my *valet de chambre* to get intelligence of her; and from what he learned, I wrote a billet, in which I only begged leave to wait on her. I was not refuſed; ſo went to ſee her. I found that ſhe was thoroughly inſtructed in every thing concerning me, and knew even of my marriage; and that it was purely through indifference, that I remained with my garriſon. In the midſt of the many compliments that ſhe made me upon the action of *Chiari*, and the attachment of my ſoldiers to me, ſhe rallied me in a very briſk manner, upon the little impreſſion that I felt for my wife. Love ſhone in her eyes, and eſta-

bliſhed himſelf in my heart. Our converſation was lively and agreeable, and ended very tenderly.

This was not the only one; we multiplied them as often as her condition would conveniently permit. In the ſecond we avowed our love to each other, and ſhe made me a preſent of a letter-caſe, embroidered with her own hair, mixed with gold wire. It will ſerve, ſaid ſhe, giving it to me, to put thoſe letters, that my love, or your indifference, ſhall oblige me to write to you. I have it yet by me, together with the letter that ſhe writ to me, when I left her to go into the field.

Love is but a torment; at leaſt, when the parties do not ſee one another: we ſtrove to compleat ours, and ſucceeded. Her chamber was at the end of a gallery, near a ſtair-caſe, that led to the garden. As the garden-walls were very high, and they had no fear of their being ſcaled, ſo the garden-gate was only bolted. The difficulty was how to get into the garden. At the end, in a ſcattering ſtreet, was the inner yard, where the gardener had his lodge, which was built againſt the encloſure. To let in the light, there was a ſaſh-window, ſecured with ſpiked iron bars. There was alſo a gate that opened from the inner court into the garden; but it had a treble lock, and the ſuperior, or one of the oldeſt nuns, always had the care of it; ſo that the gardener's window was the only place that was acceſſible. The gardener muſt be gained:——fifty piſtoles did the buſineſs. I went myſelf to examine the ſpot; and preſently obſerved, that the bars were not mortiſed in the wall, but only faſtened to the wooden frame of the window; on examining them nearer, I found that they might be ſawed, without damaging the maſonry, or, at leaſt, without its being perceived on the outſide. The thing was done as I contrived, and I took care to inform my beloved nun of it, who ſeemed quite overjoyed. We

met together one day; I believe, it was the ſame on which prince *Eugene* ſurprized *Cremona*. I had found the way from the ſaſh-window, to the body of the houſe. It is impoſſible, to expreſs the pleaſures that we taſted; much leſs the vivacity of our careſſes, and the tenderneſs of our ſentiments. This intercourſe laſted near three months, without either of us being ſuſpected. At my departure, ſhe wrote me the following letter.

" YOU are going——it muſt be——I expect it. " It is your duty; and, I believe, that I " ſhould ceaſe from loving you, if you did not " do it: yet I am in deſpair; I know not what " I do; or what I would do. I had reſolved not to " have wrote to you; but I cannot keep my reſolution. " A crowd of thoughts come upon me, and I reject " them all. Why am I not at liberty!—why are " not you!—your inclination for war, your love " of glory, bind you as ſtrait, as I am bound by " the engagements that I have been forced to take. " They ſay that love is able to break all fetters.—— " then you love me not——you know that I was " ready to break mine——and you only withheld " me from following you. The thing, you ſaid, " was impoſſible; you made me own it was ſo: " why was you more diſcreet than I? with a love " equal to mine, could you have had that diſcretion? " however, I take it kindly of you, and I imagine, " with pleaſure, that you had ſuch command of " yourſelf, as to prefer my honour to your own ſa- " tisfaction. I love that honour which I have ha- " zarded—I love it more than my life——but I find " that is leſs to me than my love. What ſhould I " do along with you?——alas!——whatever you " would. I would fight diſguiſed at your ſide, " and expoſe myſelf to the ſtrokes that were aimed " at you. Death, in ſuch circumſtances, would

" have

" have nothing ſad in it to me: I do not know even " whether the pleaſure of having ſaved your life, " would not make me inſenſible of any regret on " parting from you: at leaſt, that ſorrow would " be over in an inſtant; while the grief that you " now occaſion me, will end only with life; which " cannot laſt long, as the wound that you have " given me is mortal——I feel it——and I rejoice " at it. You may heal it;——no——do not—— " my cure will laſt no longer than your love; and " I had much rather die of grief, for the loſs of " you, while I believe that you love me, than to " be a moment witneſs of your inconſtancy. I " imagine I know you; and that it is the difficulty " of ſeeing me, which has animated that paſſion, " which would extinguiſh, were you at full liberty.— " Is that poſſible?——I wiſh myſelf deceived, and " will not ſearch into theſe afflicting ideas. *Adieu.* " Shall I ſee you no more?——what would that " laſt moment avail, but only to augment the bit- " terneſs of our ſeparation?——come, however; " for I think I have yet a great many things to ſay " to you."

I was juſt going to mount my horſe, when I received this letter; and went to ſee her: but we could hardly ſpeak to one another for tears. She died three months after: and had it not been for the ſtrength of my conſtitution, and the continual employment where I was, I ſhould, in all appearance, have met with the ſame lot.

Marſhal *Villeroi* ſuffered himſelf to be taken at *Cremona*; and the duke of *Vendome* came in his room. This prince was what they call a ſoldier. He was maſter of the art of war, and exceeded the high opinion, that we all had of his capacity. He was good, popular, converſed familiarly with his ſoldiers, and looked upon nothing as his own. In

a word he was to the whole army, the ſame as I was in my regiment. I do not ſay, that we had both very near the ſame character; but every body thought ſo; and I never yet ſaw a general, that I wiſhed more to reſemble. From the praiſes he heard of me, (and alſo, perhaps, by ſympathy) he would make me one of his friends, and diſtinguiſhed me on every occaſion, as much as he could, without affording room for jealouſy. We ſoon re-poſſeſſed thoſe places that the *Germans* had taken from us in the winter; the blockade of *Mantua* was raiſed, and we ſhut them in *Breſſau*. The campaign was briſk; we had many battles, and a grand one at *Luzara*. We ought to have loſt it. Prince *Eugene*, having intelligence of our deſigns, lay in ambuſcade with his whole army behind a great bank, at the foot of which we were to have encamped. An officer adviſed to place a guard upon that bank: he mounted it himſelf to poſt one there, and ſaw all the enemy's foot lying on their bellies upon the ground, waiting to pour out upon us. He gave the alarm, and they ran to inform Monſieur *de Vendome*. I got there one of the firſt, and while I was waiting for him, I formed a line of thoſe foot, that I found ready at hand; and tho' only a colonel, they permitted me to do it, and obeyed my orders. I ſuſtained the firſt charge of the *Imperialiſts*; and it was upon this firſt attack, that the ſafety of our army depended. Prince *Eugene* has told me twenty times ſince, that I ſnatched a victory out of his hands, that he thought himſelf ſure of.

The reſiſtance that I made gave the other troops time to come to my ſuccour, who put themſelves in order of battle as they arrived. The ground was croſſed with hedges and ditches, which ſaved us. The action laſted until an hour after midnight; when prince *Eugene* retreated half a league off, leaving us the field of battle, with three or four thouſand

thouſand ſlain. We had near as many; and among them we loſt ſeveral officers of note. After the action, we made ourſelves maſters of *Luzara*, which had been the object of our fight.

As ſoon as the campaign was ended, I ſet out for *Paris*, where I found my wife, who received me with a great deal of tenderneſs. The idea of my nun ſtill poſſeſſing me, I made her little or no return. Tho' there was another great promotion of officers expected, I thought it beneath me to apply myſelf to my friends to get myſelf in it: I thought that my ſervices, and, if I may be permitted to ſay it, my reputation, ſpoke largely enough in my favour: but I was excluded, tho' others younger than myſelf were named therein, who were not of any note in the army; or to whom, indeed, I would not have truſted a ſingle company. I could name them; but, as I believe, I have ſaid before, I write to juſtify myſelf, and not to caſt a blemiſh upon any body. I own that I was very much exaſperated at this neglect: I looked upon it to be ſuch a public affront, that my honour would not permit me to put up. I went to *Chamillard*, and moderated my complaints pretty much at firſt. He told me, with a pedantic tone and air, that, with the king, valour and ſkill were not ſufficient titles to advancement, without manners and behaviour were joined to them. I uſed him very ill, and retired with rage in my heart; but the fear of the baſtile ſoon took place of it. Without opening my mind to any body, I got together as much money as I could; my farmers advanced me a year's rents; I borrowed ſome money elſewhere, and quitted the kingdom. On the frontiers I wrote ſeveral letters, and one among others, to *Chamillard*, that I remember ſtill.

"MY

"MY proceeding need not ſurprize you. If "you were capable of knowing the ſenti- "ments of a man of diſtinction and honour, you "would have been attentive thereto, and prevented "my taking this ſtep; but a gown, and an ink- "horn, can never inſtruct a low genius. I ſhall "have juſtice done me elſewhere; and I hope, that "you will hear me ſpoken of oftner than you would "deſire. I ſhall always preſerve an infinite reſpect "for the king, who would have continued, as "he has been, all his reign, had he not put confi- "dence in you? Is it poſſible, that he does not ſee, "as well as all *France*, that you only ruin his af- "fairs, and diſhonour him? and you may let his "majeſty know, that I can produce a thouſand "men, to ſet their hands to what I have here told "you."

I was not yet determined to go over to the enemies of *France*; otherwiſe, I would have done it on ſuch a footing, as ſhould not have favoured of the adventurer. I demanded paſſports, and gave my parole of honour, that I was no longer in the *French* ſervice, nor was charged with any ſecret commiſſion, and that I only travelled for my own pleaſure. Before I put myſelf under the emperor's patronage, I traverſed part of the courts of *Germany*; and was received with much diſtinction, they every where offering me great employments. But being attached to the emperor's ſervice, more by caprice, than reaſon, I refuſed all the advantageous proffers that were made me.

I ſpent a whole year in travelling, going even into *Italy*. My money diminiſhed; my affairs at court were deſperate; nobody dared to ſpeak in my behalf; my eſtate was confiſcated; and all that my wife could do, by throwing herſelf at the king's feet,

feet, was to obtain a pretty good penſion for herſelf. The marquis *du Prié* was then at *Rome*, in the quality of agent for the court of *Vienna*; he ſtrove to gain me, and I believe, that he boaſted of having done it. It is true, that he did me ſome ſervices; but he has ſince made me pay very dear for them. I addreſſed myſelf to prince *Eugene*; who on ſome account that I am ignorant of, did not command that year. He was intereſted as much for me, as he could have been for himſelf; he ſpoke to the emperor, and laid me out to him, as a man capable of doing him very great ſervices. It was ordered, that I ſhould have a regiment of foot, conſiſting of two thouſand men; that the regiment ſhould go by my name; and that in a ſhort time I ſhould be made a general officer.

Prince *Eugene*, with his uſual affability, acquainted me with what he had done for me, and aſſured me, that he would be my friend preferable to all others; and that he would take care, I ſhould never repent the ſtep that *Chamillard* had forced me to take. We will both of us, added he, make *France* repent the little conſideration that ſhe affects to have for men of merit and diſtinction. He abſolutely forbad me taking any other lodging but his on my arrival at *Vienna*; and I carefully obeyed him. The emperor gave me a very obliging reception; the maſter's example was followed by others, and they that profeſſed themſelves under the protection of prince *Eugene*, were very obliging to me; ſo that I was at all the entertainments and parties of pleaſure.

In that court, as well as in all others, thoſe that govern under the prince are not friends, each has his views, each has his creatures; to be attached to one party is almoſt a ſure ſtroke to draw the others upon you. My protector let me into their characters, and their degrees of credit: he named to me thoſe

word, that he has taken marſhal Tallard, *and all the jeſuitical penſioners.*

In the mean time my regiment was compleated. The *Germans* for the moſt part are coloſſuſſes of fleſh: it ſeemed to me, that ſuch huge bodies were not fit for the fatigue of the long marches, that the foot are frequently obliged to undergo. I choſe them as near as I could to the ſtature of the *French*, that came over to me; and I faſhioned them by my beſt men. The king of the *Romans* did me the honour to come twice to ſee them exerciſe: he was pleaſed with them, and could not help ſaying, that two thouſand ſuch choſen and trained men were worth four. In the month of *April*, I led them into *Bavaria*: that deſtination was a great favour. In the empire, there is very bad pay; but the winter-quarters compenſate it abundantly: and thoſe that I had given me, were the beſt that I could wiſh for. The *Bavarians* were to be tamed by being impoveriſhed. My officers and ſoldiers came intirely into thoſe views, and though they brought me in very conſiderable ſums, yet in proportion they advantaged themſelves more than me. I left the care of my concerns to my major: I ſuppoſed that he was honeſt, and would never ſuffer him to make out any account to me.

I was but ſix weeks in this country. I got to *Vienna* as ſoon as prince *Eugene* returned thither from his glorious campaign. My friend, ſaid he, embracing me, you did well to come and join us, the *French* are nothing! they ſuffer themſelves to be beat and taken like ſheep! What generals! added he, when we were talking in private! what pitiful conduct! to fight their cavalry, without ſuſtaining them with their foot; I do not care to ſpeak in this manner in public, as it would injure our glory: but upon my honour, a child might beat them. *Tallard* was not with his wing, when it was attacked,

tacked; he let himſelf be heedleſly taken as he was coming to join them, with two of his aids de camp. I told *Marlborough* that he muſt ſend him back to beat him again.

Our familiarity encreaſed more and more; and we became quite intimate. The prince kept no ſecret from me, nor I from him: we paſſed all our time together, except when we were obliged to be elſewhere. It was found fault with; but he took them up at ſuch a rate, as they were obliged to be ſilent.

As ſoon as he was named to ſerve in *Italy*, he imparted it to me. We ſhall ſerve together, added he, I have aſked you of the emperor. Our conferences became more frequent than ever they had been; but for fear of making the other officers jealous, we kept them ſecret. I went in the evening to the prince's houſe; ſometimes he came to mine; and we often met in the *Capuchins* garden.

The duke of *Savoy*, who two years ago had quitted the *French* intereſt, was extremely preſſed. It was only a ſpeedy and powerful diverſion that could ſave him; and they haſtened to march to his aſſiſtance. I left *Vienna*, at the beginning of *April*: the army was formed in *Tirol*, and prince *Eugene* joined us the firſt day of *May*. We endeavoured to ſuccour *Mirandola*, but in vain; for that place ſurrendered in our ſight; we being on the banks of the *Mincio*; but it was impoſſible for us to paſs it. We had only a ſkirmiſh for about two hours, from one ſide of that river to the other. The duke of *Vendome* had quitted *Piemont*, on the news of our arrival; and he conſtrained us to quit the *Veronois*, and enter into *Breſſau*, where we were almoſt blocked up. We had not then one place in *Italy*; notwithſtanding which all the open country was for us, altho' we uſed them as ill at leaſt as the *French* could do. An enterprize, well conducted, ſet us

more at large, and gave us great hopes. After many motions, to divert the attention of the enemy, we paſſed the *Oglio* at *Vago*. Seven battallions, and as many ſquadrons, which were there, might have diſputed the paſſage, and would certainly have hindered us; but the execution of our cannon, that I ordered to be fired, put them to flight. This paſſage being ſurprized, we went to *Soncino*, which we took in two days, with moſt part of the poſts that the two crowns had upon that river.

We thought afterwards to paſs the *Adda:* we went up and down along the ſide of the river, with the duke of *Vendome* always over againſt us, who regulated his motions by ours. The country thro' which we marched, was woody, and deprived him of viewing our diſpoſitions. The ſituation of the ground incommoded his march; he had canals to paſs, that neceſſarily obliged him to divide his army into three diviſions. Upon the knowledge of which prince *Eugene* formed a project to attack his main body, preciſely at the time, that they ſhould be between the two canals, that ſeparated them from both the van and rear-guards. We drew up and tried the project. It was ſo contrived that we hazarded but one body of troops; becauſe the ground on our ſide was too advantageous for them to purſue us, in caſe of a check; inſtead of which, if we ſucceeded, we ſhould ſeparate the *French* army, and open a paſſage into the *Milaneſe*, which was then almoſt entirely ungarriſoned. We had but one thing to fear, which was, that the duke of *Vendome* ſhould ſeize on the bridge of *Caſſano*, or break it down. The only way to hinder him, was to do nothing, that ſhould make him think of it. His vanguard paſſed by the bridge, that was left almoſt abandoned, with only about forty or fifty men, in a weak caſtle, that was within gun-ſhot of it.

The

The vanguard was advanced above two hours before the main body, which was led by the duke of *Vendome* himſelf; who fell into the ſnare that we had ſet for him. An hour after the vanguard was paſſed by, we ſeized the bridge; and the fifty men that were in the caſtle, ſurrendered without firing a gun, for I had given them to underſtand, that otherwiſe they ſhould have no quarter. I fixed myſelf on the bridge, and paſſed over ſeven or eight thouſand men, who extended themſelves to the right and left among the buſhes that were about the river. The body of the army came up, and we committed a fault in attacking them too ſoon, as we ſhould have been certain of ſucceſs, if we had let them almoſt all paſs by. The firſt troops being ſurprized, were put in diſorder; but the others remaining firm, gave them time to rally themſelves. Their rear-guard was not far off; they haſtened their march, and arrived ſoon enough to drive back ſuch of our forces as paſſed the river, with an intent to put the duke of *Vendome* betwixt two fires. He fought like a lion, and prince *Eugene* did the ſame: at laſt we were repulſed, and almoſt all thoſe that had paſſed over the bridge remained dead in the field of battle. The guard of the bridge was committed to me; I was attacked, and ſuſtained three or four aſſaults, when night put an end to the conflict.

Altho' we had been forced back, and could not paſs the river *Adda*, and the duke of *Savoy* was without any hopes of aſſiſtance, yet prince *Eugene* wrote every where, that we were victorious: and on my expreſſing my ſurprize at it, he told me, it muſt be ſo; we had need of a legion of allies, and they muſt not be diſcouraged. The *French* ſwore they had beaten us; but nobody would believe them, eſpecially if we could cope with them a little in the remainder of the campaign, which we did; and the duke of *Vendome*, being contented with

having put ut out of condition to execute our deſigns, returned to the ſiege of *Verue*. My regiment had ſuffered very much at the defence of the bridge of *Caſſano*, but it was ſoon recruited by the deſerters from my old corps.

I had good winter-quarters, and almoſt as fruitful as thoſe I had in *Bavaria*. I had need of it, having been at a great expence; every night I ſupped with prince *Eugene*; but I gave a dinner almoſt every day to all the officers of my regiment; and I can ſay, that I made a greater figure than moſt of our generals; altho' many piqued themſelves on their expences. It was always my fancy; I never thought of hoarding: when I at preſent reflect on it, I cannot comprehend, where I could get money to ſupport me without running in debt.

We returned to *Vienna*: the emperor *Leopold* was dead; tho' I did not miſs him, as his ſucceſſor had the ſame kindneſs for me. However, it occaſioned great changes in the miniſtry; but prince *Eugene* was on ſuch an exalted footing, that thoſe whom he protected, had nothing to fear. He kept his word with me, and I was made a general officer, with nearly the ſame command as a brigadier has in *France*; with this difference, that this rank is not multiplied, in the armies of the Empire, as in thoſe of *France*; where, thanks to *Chamillard*, it is reckoned a ſort of ſhame to be no more than a colonel, even when they come from the academy. This degree of honour drew no envy upon me; at leaſt, that I knew of; I was beloved in the army; they eſteemed what ſmall capacity I had, and I took every opportunity of pleaſing them. The winter paſſed away in pleaſure, the new emperor loved it, and they made it a duty to conform to his inclination. They often went to *La Favorita*; I was in moſt of thoſe voyages, and never drank ſo hard in my life. According to the advice of prince *Eugene*,

I accuſtomed myſelf ſo much to the *German* faſhions, that I became one of the chief ſupporters of them.

All the nobility in *Germany*, both men and women, came to make their court to the new emperor: it was never before ſo numerous or ſo brilliant. They played a game would make one tremble: I did not loſe; and it is impoſſible to ſay what I won. My valet de chambre had the care of emptying my pockets every night, leaving therein only what he thought ſufficient for the next day. With this and ſome amours, here and there, I paſſed away my time.

I returned into *Italy* with prince *Eugene*. It happened luckily for us, that the marſhal *de Villeroy* was beat in *Flanders*, at the opening of the campaign; it was a ſecond *Hochſtet*. He thought himſelf only ſafe under the cannon of *Liſle*; and abandoned all *Flanders* to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. This diſaſter obliged *Lewis* XIV. to countermand many forces that were marching into *Italy*; and gave him to underſtand, at laſt, that in giving the the command of his armies to *Villeroy*, he had not the neceſſary talents for to obtain ſucceſs. He freed us from the duke of *Vendome*, by ſending him into *Flanders*; and the duke of *Orleans* took his place; who would perhaps have given us much trouble, but he had not a *carte blanche*.

Superior, or at leaſt equal, to the *French* army, deſtined to hinder us from going to ſuccour *Turin*, which *la Feuillade*, ſon in law to *Chamillard*, beſieged, tho' he did not preſs it much, altho' he employed all his ſkill, and that of his father in law, we ſurprized the paſſages of the rivers, and joined the duke of *Savoy*. The duke of *Orleans* could not ward off this blow; we had got the ſtart of him; and he was obliged to join *la Feuillade*. By this junction, he was near three to one of us, and ſuch

good opportunities to take, that he need only keep to them, to render our painful march of no uſe.

The duke of *Savoy*, and prince *Eugene*, held frequent councils, in which a thouſand difficulties were repreſented to them; their anſwer was commonly, that we muſt try; and perhaps we ſhould find the *French* not make thoſe motions which we imagined they would. They had very good intelligence; for prince *Eugene* has owned to me ſince, that he knew the orders from *Verſailles*. We paſſed two rivers that they ſhould have diſputed with us; and the duke of *Orleans* was conſtrained by *Marſin* and *la Feuillade*, to ſhut himſelf up in the entrenchments. We reconnoitred them, and found that they had little or no ſtrength on the ſide of the ſuburbs of *Balon*; which was the very place where they ought to have been ſtrongeſt. The attack was reſolved to be made on that ſide. I remember that in full council I aſked, where was the convoy, that we had prepared to victual *Turin*; and what we ſhould do, if the enemy ſhould leave a free paſſage for us to enter it? The convoy, replied prince *Eugene*, is in the *French* camp; and there we muſt look for it: what ſhall we do in *Turin*, but only occaſion it to be taken the ſooner, with ourſelves at the ſame time.

The battle was fought: that quarter was forced; and fear and ſurprize ſpread in all the others. The duke of *Orleans* being wounded put them all in confuſion. We were at moſt but twenty-five thouſand men; and they near ſixty thouſand. My regiment alone, that penetrated one of the firſt, took above three thouſand priſoners. The army and the garriſon abounded with plunder. I had for my ſhare a magnificent ſervice of plate. We marched into the *Milaneſe*, where all ſubmitted. What a campaign!———never army was ſo rich. I do not know what it was worth to me; but this I remember

ber perfectly well, that at the end of the next campaign, I had not a penny of it left. I passed the winter in the best canton of that dutchy: the count *de Medavi* was yet there with a good number of troops, which occasioned prince *Eugene* to stay there, and he kept me with him.

My quarters were at *Cosma*, and all the neighbourhood was at my discretion. I inspired part of my sentiments into my soldiers, and all the people were contented. I lodged in the castle, and kept open table for all the gentlemen that would come: play, balls, and concerts, succeeded it. The most eminent man of the place was the only one that did not frequent my house. I loaded him with civilities, I invited him, I waited on him myself, yet all was to no purpose. I was resolved to be revenged on him. He had a very handsome wife, of whom he was as jealous as a tyger; and it was reported, that he always kept the key of a certain padlock. He was rich, and at the same time covetous: he often went into the country, where he stayed two or three days; at which times his house was close shut up, nobody went either in or out. These difficulties encouraged me; and I longed impatiently to satisfy myself, whether the story of the padlock was true. I bethought myself to make my drums beat round the house, almost a whole night; and the lady sent me a letter to desire me to cease the noise. An old woman who had been her husband's nurse, but was intirely in her interest, told me in delivering it, that I ought to be contented with troubling her mistress in another manner, without making a noise with drums. At the bottom of the billet, I read in words half rubbed out; *you may be certain.*——I gave the woman all the money that I had about me, and asked her if I might have the liberty of writing: she assured me, that I might; which I did in the following terms.

" I Received the letter, that you was pleaſed
" to write to me, with a profound reſpect, and
" infinite acknowledgement. My ſentiments are
" the ſame as yours; and I ſhall leave nothing un-
" attempted or undone to give you proofs of it.
" If your houſe had been acceſſible, I would have
" waited on you long ago; but love, that is willing
" to unite us, has ſupplied all that converſation
" could have done. Let us acknowledge the ſenti-
" ments he has inſpired us with; and only ſeek
" to improve them, that we may not languiſh. I
" wait your orders."

This letter, tho' ſadly indicted, was received as it ought to be, after the ingenuous declaration that ſhe had made me. The old woman told me, to ſend one of my ſervants, about four o'clock in the afternoon, to the door of a certain church, for an anſwer. It was in the ſame ſtile as the letter that I had written; and only contained theſe few words: *At eleven at night, by the little gate, that opens on the ramparts, I ſhall be ready to receive you: come alone.*

It may be imagined, that I did not fail going to the rendezvous. The gate was opened preciſely at the hour appointed; and the old woman conducted me through I do not know how many turnings; and brought me to a cloſet, where ſhe ſhut me in. The lady came to me immediately. She was half undreſſed, and embracing me, for whom do you take me, ſays ſhe? the moments are precious, and you will find more work than you think for. We preſently ſet about it. The affair of the padlock was true: a ſort of coat of mail, made ſomewhat like a ſling, rendered the paſſage impenetrable. Several little chains faſtened this little bag-net to a girdle, that being tied with ribbons, made it almoſt immoveable.

veable. It was impoſſible, to cut or unrip it, without its being perceived; and her life depended on it. After a thouſand unſucceſsful trials, ſaid I, it is impoſſible for your huſband to have only one key; he certainly muſt have had ſeveral made. We were in that jealous man's cloſet, and we looked every where: by miſtake he had left one of the drawers of his bureau open; we ſearched there, and under a heap of papers, and old contracts, we found a little ſilver box, with five or ſix little keys therein. This was what we ſought for. I took one, and ſent my valet de chambre to *Milan*, to get another made by it; and we renewed our meetings every time that gentleman was abſent.

I was revenged: but revenge has but part of its ſweet, when it remains ſecret; at leaſt ſuch was my way of thinking. At my departure I ſent to that jealous huſband, by one of my ſervants, the key ſealed up in a letter, wherein was theſe words; *I have no more buſineſs with it.* He preſently mounted on horſeback, and I had not gone above three or four leagues, when he came up to me, juſt as I was going to dinner. He demanded ſatisfaction of me, and I gave it him after dinner. We fought in a little wood: he was a good ſwordſman, and much braver than he ſeemed to be. He told me that he would take no quarter, and that he would give me none: that, if he got the better, his deſign was to carry my head to his wife, and to ſtab her as ſoon as ſhe had ſeen it. This brutal diſcourſe provoked me, we fought long and deſperately: at laſt I made a paſs at him, which went under his left breaſt, and came out at his right ſhoulder, a little below the channel-bone; ſo I left him ſtretched out upon the ſpot. I was ſorry, and could only comfort myſelf, by the pleaſure of having ſaved his wife's life. I do not know how this adventure got wind, but it was much talked of at *Vienna*; the

ladies

ladies queſtioned me very much about the padlock, and the emperor *Joſeph* joked about it more than once.

A treaty was made with *France*, for the evacuation of *Italy*, which put an end to the war in that country. Prince *Eugene* made the campaign in *France* with the duke of *Savoy*: we penetrated into *Provence*, and laid ſiege to *Toulon*; we raiſed it; and I reckon the taking of *Suza*, to be our only conqueſt; being happy in that the marſhal *de Teſſé* had the goodneſs to leave the road free for us to return by.

I forgot to mention my having made a tour to *Vienna*, where prince *Eugene* ſent me to communicate the project of *Toulon* to the emperor, and the diverſion of that which he had formed againſt the kingdom of *Naples*. All that I could ſay was to no purpoſe. The kingdom of *Naples* was to belong to the houſe of *Auſtria*; and *Toulon*, with the other conqueſts in *Provence*, was to go to the duke of *Savoy*. This reaſon prevailed over all thoſe that I alleged. However, it was not thro' any fault of our army, that we miſſed of *Toulon*; eight or ten days more would have put us in poſſeſſion of it, and forty or fifty men of war, that lay in the harbour.

The affairs of the allies were upon a good footing in *Spain*. The arch duke had been received at *Barcelona*; all that province had followed the example of the capital, as well as the kingdom of *Valencia*, and part of *Arragon*; and the *Engliſh* had made themſelves maſters of *Gibraltar*. The duke of *Anjou*, aſſiſted by marſhal *de Teſſé*, to whom the poſt of firſt equerry to the dutcheſs of *Burgundy* belonged by right, had miſcarried in all his enterprizes. In this year 1707, he had his revenge: the duke of *Berwick*, natural ſon of king *James*, entirely routed *Gallway*; and the duke of *Orleans*

Orleans ſubdued *Valencia* and *Arragon*, and even took *Lerida* in *Catalonia*. Prince *Eugene* was very much preſſed to go to re-eſtabliſh affairs in that country as he had done in *Piedmont*; but he excuſed himſelf, and we went into *Flanders*. It was there the greateſt blow was given, and where moſt honour was to be gotten. I was made a major-general.

Our army immediately formed itſelf on the *Moſelle*, as if we had ſome great deſigns on that ſide; but all on a ſudden, we went to join the duke of *Marlborough*. We found that the *French* had already been beaten at *Oudenarde*, or that the duke of *Burgundy*'s counſel had engaged them to behave, as tho' they had been beaten. We knew, moreover, that they were divided; that the advice of the marquiſſes *de O*———, *de Gamaches*, and many others of like ſort, prevailed over that of the duke of *Vendome*. Our two generals animated each other, and formed one of the greateſt enterprizes that ever was undertaken; which was the ſiege of *Liſle*. That place was invironed with ſeveral others equally ſtrong, *Douay*, *Tournay*, *Ypres*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, *Condé*, and *Valenciennes*. The *French* were maſters of *Ghent*, *Bruges* and *Nieuport*, and, conſequently, of the *Lys*, and the *Eſcaut*; ſo that our ammunition and convoys, that were to come from *Holland*, through *Anvers* and *Bruſſels*, could only come by land, with a continual danger of being taken. To enter the baſon of *Liſle* was never to get out again; as it was throwing ourſelves into a ſort of a net, of which they need only draw the ſtrings, to take us all. I repreſented theſe difficulties, and many others, to prince *Eugene*, who told me I was in the right of it: if *Vendome* was alone, ſaid he, we would not undertake it; but we are ſure, that there is a powerful party formed againſt him, who are determined to explode his advice, and to render his deſigns abortive: the *French* are

yet

yet good troops; but they are no longer conducted as they were formerly; their councils are not the ſame; *Chamillard*, and *la Maintenon* govern all: it is upon this that we reckon, at leaſt as much as upon the goodneſs and ardor of our troops. Do not be under any diſquiet, added he, my dear count, I will anſwer for it, that we ſhall come off with honour.

Liſle was inveſted, and an immenſe convoy, that reached four or five leagues, came to us without loſing a ſingle waggon. Prince *Eugene* carried on the ſiege, and *Marlborough* covered it; but it was long and bloody. Marſhal *Boufflers*, who ſuſtained it, had an army rather than a garriſon. We ran great dangers, and the undertaking was repented of more than once; but count *de la Motte* found means at *Wynendale*, to have twenty thouſand men beaten by eight or ten thouſand, which was our preſervation. *Liſle* was taken, and the citadel only held out for form. The imagined net that they had ſurrounded us with, was as eaſily broken, as a ſpider's web; and the ſeveral corps that were diſtributed about, to ſhut up the paſſages againſt us, diſappeared in great confuſion. We finiſhed that glorious and dangerous campaign, by the taking of *Ghent*, which the count *de la Motte* had the honeſty to ſurrender to us a day or two before the beginning of the hard winter.

The ſeverity of the cold was more felt in *France*, than any where elſe; and put them to their laſt ſhifts. *Lewis* XIV. was obliged to ſue for peace; and it may well be thought, that moſt part of the officers looked on it as the greateſt misfortune that could happen to them: I was aſſuredly among that number. We went almoſt all of us to the *Hague*, and our two generals were appointed plenipotentiaries. The penſionary *Heinſius* was at their devotion; our intereſts were in good hands, and we ſupported them

them the beſt we could, both by our diſcourſe and in writings, which we gave the ſubſtance of to ſome authors. There was then one *Dumont*, at the *Hague*, whom I have paſſed many hours with, in communicating my thoughts and my reflections to him. Altho' we were convinced, that *Lewis* XIV. endeavoured only to live in quiet, and that he ſincerely deſired peace, upon a few tolerable conditions to be granted him, yet we ſucceeded in perſuading the contrary. We reported every where, that his policy and ambitious views were always the ſame; that he only endeavoured to divide the allies, that he might take up arms again, and cruſh them one after another; that we wiſhed for peace, as much as any body, but then it was a good one; which could not be, unleſs they put it out of the power of *France*, to break her engagements, as ſhe had ſo often done within threeſcore years. Some conferences were held; the marquis *de Torci* came to the *Hague*, and they delivered to him the demands of the allies in the form of preliminary articles; but they were ſo high, that it was impoſſible to agree to them, as it would be almoſt putting the rope about his own neck. Our diſcourſe and our writings had ſo diſpoſed the people, that thoſe propoſitions were too moderate, and they were very angry with the court of *Verſailles*, for treating them as if they were extravagant.

My ſtay at the *Hague* pleaſed me very well. I employed myſelf very much in reading, and I brought ſeveral of my friends into the ſame taſte, who left the choice of the books they bought to me; beſides we made great entertainments. Thoſe who have ſeen me in that country cannot have forgot that my lodging was the general rendezvous of all perſons of diſtinction, and that I went ſcarce ever abroad without a great retinue. It was the ſame in the camp: a free and eaſy behaviour, and integrity,

integrity, may be a table always well ſerved, and a briſk and gay converſation, made me followed and courted; and I can ſay, that there were few gay people, but what were friends of *Bonneval*.

Winter was my love ſeaſon: I had never yet taſted of the *Engliſh*; and there was one at the *Hague* that pleaſed me greatly. She lived with her mother in a very retired manner; and they dwelt in a part of the town, that was but little frequented. I chanced to ſee her at the window; and *Dominick*, who was my man of truſt, managed my purſe, and gave me notice when it was empty, got information of her. He met with many difficulties, but they animated him; and he ſwore, that he would work himſelf to death, but he would bring it to bear; which he did by many myſterious ways, and eſpecially by great preſents. I even attached myſelf to her; and the pleaſure of ſeeing her again, was afterwards one of the reaſons that determined me to come and paſs the winter at the *Hague*. She proved with child in 1711. Without much examining whether I was the father, I gave her wherewithal to bring up the child; it proved a boy, and reſembled me very much, but it did not live long.

The propoſitions of peace having proved ineffectual, as we had deſired, we only thought of puſhing our advantages. The *Dutch* erected large magazines on the *frontiers*; and we flattered ourſelves, that we ſhould hardly ſee the *French* in the field; but we found *Villars*, who was appointed their general, perfectly well encamped, and ready to fruſtrate all our enterprizes. We went to reconnoitre, but durſt not attack him; we were forced to ſhift it to inveſt *Tournay*. That ſiege was ſhort; *Surville*, who ſuſtained it, did not come up to the idea that he had given of his capacity, at that of *Liſle*: he defended himſelf wretchedly, without either

ther attention, vigilance or vigour, and let us do as we pleaſed.

It had been but little, conſidering our ſituation, and the great things that were expected from us, to take only one place; but by the ſkill of *Villars*, *Mons* was the only one that we could attack, and it was difficult enough to do it. As ſoon as *Surville* had ſurrendered the citadel, which he defended as badly as he had done the town, prince *Eugene* detached me with eight or ten thouſand choſen men, to ſeize the paſſages of the *Frouille*. Had I not been extremely diligent, I ſhould have been prevented; for I was not got there three days, when the chevalier *de Luxembourg* appeared. His force was too weak to cope with mine, and he retired to the body of the army, which advanced with a deſign to fight us. Prince *Eugene*, who joined me twenty-four hours after, haſtened to paſs the defiles of *Taniers*, to keep *Villars* in the woods of *Sart*. He intrenched there. This ſituation very much incommoded the ſiege of *Mons*, and it was reſolved to beat him out of it. There was occaſion for all the authority of prince *Eugene*, and the duke of *Marlborough*, to diſpoſe us to that daring enterprize; but we were all of their opinion, and the deputies of the *States General* yielded to ſo great a majority.

The action was the ſharpeſt that was ever ſeen. The enemy had two or three intrenchments. At the hazard of ſacrificing all, we compaſſed driving their left from the wood; but they maintained themſelves in the plain ſo well, that we could not break them. As for their right, the *Dutch* attacked it to no purpoſe, looſing their beſt troops there, without gaining an inch of ground. *Villars*, to ſtrengthen his left, had weakened his center; *Cadogan* and I gave notice of it to our two generals. I received orders to march thither with my regiment, ſupported

ported by ſome others. The *French* guards loſt ground, I poſſeſſed the ground they left, and ſecured that part of the intrenchment. Our cavalry engaged, and the *French* horſe had almoſt always the advantage; ſo that had it not been for the fire they met with from the intrenchment, ours would have been abſolutely defeated. *Villars* was wounded; and *Boufflers*, who was come to join and aſſiſt him on this great occaſion, thought proper to retreat; which he did in as good order as poſſible, and we never thought of purſuing him. This victory coſt us very dear; another ſuch would have made our army all new troops. We made rejoycings; but I never ſaw more ſorrowfulneſs; we looked upon one another without hardly ſpeaking. *Mons* employed us until the end of *October*.

The negociations for peace were renewed, and we began our intrigues afreſh to baffle them. Prince *Eugene*, who could not diſpenſe with going to *Vienna*, charged me particularly with that buſineſs; and I acquitted myſelf the beſt I could. I exerted myſelf more at the *Hague*, than I had done the year before; and there was not a member of the *States* with whom I had not particular conferences. What I ſaid to them, I repeated at the merchants, and at the bookſellers, where I went purpoſely: I even went to *Amſterdam*, and other cities in *Holland*, to make the ſame impreſſions there. We ſucceeded ſo well, that every where nothing was talked of but the knavery and ambition of *France*, and the juſtice of making her reſtore, at her own expence, the monarchy that, contrary to all engagements, ſhe had uſurped. *Marlborough* and his friends did the ſame in *England:* ſo that all the offers of *Lewis* XIV. which were reduced almoſt to the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and who offered to contribute his contingent in money to dethrone his grandſon, were rejected as inſufficient.

Count

Count *Sinzendorff*, the emperor's miniſter, the miniſter of *Savoy*, and lord *Townſhend*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador, were thoſe whom I ſtuck to moſt. We obtained that the marſhal *D'Uxelles* and the abbé *de Polignac*, ſhould appear no more at the *Hague*; and that they ſhould be ſent as ſoon as poſſible to *Gertruydenberg*, where we had them confined. At their departure, they publiſhed a ſort of *manifeſto*; and the penſionary deſired me to take notes of it; which ſerved for the grounds of the anſwer in form, that the *States* gave to it.

So much zeal ſet me entirely in favour with the emperor *Joſeph*, who naturally hated the *French*; and he ordered me a conſiderable gratification, without my aſking for it. It came very *a propos*, as I had ſpent largely at the army, and did the ſame at the *Hague*; and *Dominick* had told me, that I had but one hundred piſtoles left, of which I had ordered him to carry fifty to my *Engliſh* woman.

We had already taken *Douay* when the conferences at *Gertruydenberg* broke entirely off. *Albergotti* gave us a good deal of employment, and defended himſelf like a brave man for two months. As we had penetrated the *French* lines, at the beginning of the campaign, we found ourſelves at liberty to take part of *Artois*, which would ſecure *Liſle* and *Tournay*, and ſerve for a barrier. We marched to *Bethune*. *Vauban*, who was governor of it, did all he could to that little place to defend it. From *Bethune*, we went to *Aix*. As *Le Jay*, captain of the guards, had bought that government, and was not acquainted with what concerns the defence of a place; they had made *Guebriant* commander there. He was a very brave man, and ſon-in-law to *Deſmaretz*, comptroller general of the finances. He wanted for nothing to make a good and long defence; and he did it ſo as to employ us until the month of *November*. The

ſeaſon was very untoward, our men were up to their knees in water and mud. A hundred times a day they curſed the city, and thoſe that would take it, and thoſe for whom it was taken. That was the only time, that I had any trouble to keep my regiment within bounds; and I was obliged to uſe ſome ſeverity to make them do their duty with common reſolution.

I paſſed that winter at the *Hague*, ever at expences, in intrigues, and always attached to my *Engliſh* woman, whoſe beauty and merit encreaſed every year, for ſhe was not fourteen when I came acquainted with her. I loved her ſo, that I do not believe that I failed in my fidelity to her above five or ſix times, which I was even forced to by S——, who brought me to an abbeſs that had the prettieſt nuns in the country. Prince *Eugene* went there ſometimes.

France left the *Dutch* quiet, with regard to peace, but the changes that happened in *England* filled us with alarms. All the nation were divided on account of a hot-headed preacher *. The miniſtry, who had taken notice of it, would have puniſhed him; and the contrary party undertook to defend him. The points in diſpute was concerning the royal authority; and what the *Engliſh* call *paſſive obedience*. The preacher's accuſers did not ſeem to the queen, to think favourably enough of thoſe articles; therefore ſhe liked better the doctrines of thoſe who defended them. They made a cunning uſe of the diſpoſitions of that princeſs. *Sunderland*, *Marlborough*'s ſon-in-law, was turned out of favour; as was *Godolphin*, his wife's friend, ſoon after, and the court of *England* changed its face; and it was ſoon perceived, that it had changed its ſentiments. The death of the emperor *Joſeph* gave them an opportunity to ſhew themſelves. *Marlborough* was continued

* Dr. SACHEVERELL.

continued in the command of the army, but with a title inferior to what he had before; and with other reſtrictions, that ſhewed his diſgrace near at hand, unleſs he had the ſuppleneſs to devote himſelf to the new miniſters, who had ſupplanted his friends and his family. Theſe changes diſcouraged the good party in *Holland*; we endeavoured to re-animate them, and ſucceeded beyond our hopes, in making them almoſt forget their true intereſts. All the empire and thoſe that intereſted themſelves to have the imperial crown fall to the archduke, judged it neceſſary for prince *Eugene* to command on the *Rhine*. Attached as he knew I was to him, he aſked for me, and I followed him. *France* ſeemed to have great views on that ſide; tho' perhaps ſhe only wanted to procure ſome reſpite in *Flanders*. We did nothing on the *Rhine*, I do not know even whether the armies ſaw one another; for I was always buſied in eſtabliſhing certain princes of the empire in the alliance, whom the proceedings of queen *Anne*'s new miniſters rendered very wavering. As ſoon as the new emperor was crowned, prince *Eugene*, after preſenting me as one of the moſt zealous and faithful ſervants of his imperial majeſty, made me ſoon ſet out for the *Hague*. I found all our friends there diſmayed at the empty propoſitions of *France*, that the queen judged ſufficient to open the conferences upon at *Utrecht*, the year following. I ſpirited them up again a little, by the aſſurance that I gave them, that prince *Eugene* would ſpeedily follow me, with ſufficient arguments to retain *England*, and to make her return to the right way. He arrived indeed, and went to *London*; where he had the vexation to find his friend ſtripped of all his employments: he negociated there two months ineffectually.

We ſupported them the beſt we could poſſibly, by I know not how many pamphlets; the ſcope of

which was to irritate the nation and fill them with ſuſpicions of their miniſters. Our great grief was, that they would not ſave *France*, but to eſtabliſh the *pretender*. However, being as artful as we, they derided our pamphlets, and got the body of the nation over to their ſide, by ſhewing them, that they had been duped in their generoſity; and that they had contributed much more than the allies, who alone had profited by their great attempts. But what was unuſeful in *England*, was not ſo in *Holland*; they determined to continue the war, and to baffle all deſigns of peace.

In theſe diſpoſitions they begun the campaign. The duke of *Ormond*, the new *Engliſh* general, ſeemed very hearty in the cauſe. But it only laſted until there was occaſion to act againſt the *French*. Then he declared, that he had orders not to concur offenſively either in ſiege or battle. It is impoſſible for me to expreſs how it incited the indignation of the whole army, and what commotions it made there. It was eaſy to perceive, that this declaration would be followed by a ſuſpenſion of arms.

The firſt agitation being a little pacified, the deputies of the *States General*, and prince *Eugene* charged me to engage the general officers of the foreign troops, that were in *Engliſh* pay, to ſtick by us, in caſe we were abandoned by the *Engliſh*. How much ſoever they were irritated, a thouſand reaſons withheld them; they had large arrears due, and were afraid of loſing them: who would take it upon them to pay them, and maintain them the reſt of the campaign? moreover the thing did not depend upon them; they muſt ſend couriers to their maſters. They only promiſed me, that if the ſeparation of the *Engliſh* happened before they had received their orders, they would remain with us.

During

During theſe negociations, we took *Queſnoy*. As we were upon the point of marching to *Landrecy*, for to open ourſelves a free paſſage into *Champagne*, the duke of *Ormond* quitted us, and an armiſtice was publiſhed for two months between *France* and *England*. He only carried away the *Engliſh*, who were but ten or twelve thouſand men, and ſome regiments of the duke of *Holſtein*; all the others remained under the command of prince *Eugene*. As for the duke of *Ormond*, he feigned to retire towards to *Dunkirk*; and by a well contrived countermarch poſſeſſed himſelf of *Ghent* and *Bruges*.

They piqued themſelves, on letting the *Engliſh* ſee, that they could do without them, and ſtuck to *Landrecy*: but they had not precaution enough againſt the deſigns of *Villars*; for on a ſudden, he fell upon the poſts of *Denain*, *Hamon*, *St. Amand* and *Marchiennes*, where our magazines lay, took them, and made uſe of what he found there, to take *Doway*, *Queſnoy*, and *Bouchain*. Our overthrow and theſe conqueſts, ſo diſconcerted our deſigns, that it was impoſſible to keep the *Dutch* any longer. However, they did not yield until the laſt extremity, and when they ſaw themſelves abandoned by *Savoy* and *Portugal*, who had already ſettled their accommodation.

After this curſed campaign, we all went to the *Hague*; we cried out, we inveighed: they acknowledged we had reaſon; but told us at the ſame time that they were obliged to yield to the violence of the *Engliſh* miniſtry, to ſave themſelves from deſtruction. I went to *Utrecht*, and lodged at *Sinzendorf's*: we ſpent days and nights in contriving of projects, and writing pamphlets. The embaſſadors of *Holland* and *France* had a pretty briſk conteſt, we omitted nothing, that could increaſe it, and animate the *Hollanders* to refuſe the ſatisfaction which was ſo haughtily demanded of them on the

part of *France*. At laſt that peace was concluded between all the powers, except the emperor, who could not bring himſelf to make it, at the diſcretion of *England*.

The emperor and empire were not in a condition to carry on the war; ſo it terminated at the end of the campaign. We loſt *Landau* and *Fribourg*; *Villars* acted like a man of parts in the ſiege of the laſt place. The two generals treated of peace at *Radſtadt*, and ſoon ſettled the articles: there is nothing like ſwords-men for negociating roundly. After twelve years of war, and as many of victories, the frontiers of the two nations remained much in the ſame ſtate, as they were at the peace of *Ryſwick*. It even ſeemed, as if they were ſincerely reconciled; inſomuch, that there was a ſecret article, whereby the emperor engaged to ſupport the diſpoſitions that *Lewis* XIV. made, for to eſtabliſh ſuch a form of government, after his death, as he judged moſt ſuitable for the tranquillity of his people, and for the ſecurity of the young *Dauphin*.

However indifferent I was about money, yet I was obliged to think of ſomewhat to live upon. My regiment being broke would have reduced me to beggary. I ſaved it with infinite pains. Prince *Eugene* uſed all his intereſt for me; yet he would have failed, if I had not found means to get the wives of thoſe, who had the management of the reform, over to my ſide. The hiſtory of it would be curious; but I have too much obligation to them, to ſay any thing to their diſadvantage; for after all, it would not be impoſſible to gueſs at them.

Being ſure on that ſide, I took to my old habits; good living, entertainments, reading and gallantry, employed me. I had bought a great number of books in *Holland*, and had a tolerable library.

My

My particular taste was for the ancients, especially for *Cæsar*. I did not only read, but also wrote: I had reduced into a sort of maxims and principles the reflections that I had make on the different operations of war, which I had met with. I remember that I wrote with pleasure, and with care. I do not know, what is become of those papers; very likely they are fallen into the same hands, as the rest of my effects. For gallantries I had nothing of note, so I shall not mention them. However, there was a lady of high distinction, that fell in my nets; but I did not hold her long. She was handsome, but foolish to the highest degree: so far, that besides scrupling the main business, she would not absolutely even permit the smallest favours.

The war with the *Turks* brought me out of that languishing way of life, which was so entirely opposite to my genius. In quality of lieutenant-general, I had a large salary, but it was almost all in arrear. To get me an equipage, I agreed with an honest gentleman, a commissary, whose chief had likely the greatest part of the profit; and he paid me sixty thousand florins, on giving a receipt for one hundred and thirty-two thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three. What could I do?——I was one of the chief officers of the army; and I should have gone mad, if I had not made as good a figure now, as I had done at other times. Our campaigns were successful; we undertook several important sieges, and won two great battles. Prince *Eugene*, who had beaten the *Turks*, after the peace of *Ryswick*, gained such an ascendant over them, that they could not stand before him, except behind their walls of *Temeswaar*; where they defended themselves with the greatest obstinacy. As for battles, they hardly made the least resistance; they were overthrown, and flying almost before we

had joined. The booty was immenſe; and the tent of the *Aga* of the *Janiſſaries*, which I had for my ſhare, abounded with riches. What was moſt uſeful to me, and on which I did not reckon at that time, was ſome *Turkiſh* officers, whom I took, and uſed them well, as was my cuſtom; they remembered it, and have been a great help to me.

In the laſt battle, when we ſurprized the *Turks* at four o'clock in the morning, the moſt part of them being aſleep, I met with a very ſingular rencounter. I wheeled round a little wood to take them in flank: I drove ſeveral troops, but found one more in order than the reſt; the chief of which told me in *German*, that this ſurreptitious victory could do us no honour; that if I had a mind, he would ſhew me, that the *Turks* knew how to fight. One of my ſoldiers had him already in his eye: I ſtopped him; and the *Turk* and I detached ourſelves from the corps that we commanded. He was young and ſeemed very robuſt. I preſently rid myſelf of him; he had only courage, and hardly knew how to weild a ſword. One of my men cut off his head, and ſet it on the top of a pike. His troop fled; all the reſt did the ſame; and I rejoined prince *Eugene:* who, on his ſide, had cut the left of the *Turks* in pieces.

As I can ſay without flattery, and without the fear of being made a liar by any one, that I contributed to the ſucceſs of theſe campaigns; I thought that I had a right to pretend to the government of one of thoſe two places, which we had taken. My friends made me think ſo; *Dominick* eſpecially, as my great expences troubled him, talked to me very ſeriouſly; repreſenting to me, that a government on thoſe frontiers would be a *Peru:* we can lay them, ſays he, under contribution, even to the

gates

gates of *Conſtantinople.* In the mean time prince *Eugene* had appointed perſons, whom he could diſplace at his pleaſure. I ſpoke to him: he anſwered, that for ſome reaſons, which he could not reveal to me, he would adviſe me to apply myſelf directly to the emperor. The campaign was ended, or at leaſt there was nothing more to do, ſo I took poſt and went to *Vienna.* Two of the miniſters had thought of theſe governments as well as *Dominick*; and had deſtined them *in petto* for their relations. My demand was well enough received, but they told me, that they ſhould determine nothing until prince *Eugene*'s return. I did not conceal what had brought me thither; and when I had done, the emperor would hear it from theſe two miniſters. They had time to form their intrigues: the council, ſaid they, repreſented that I was a ſtranger; that thoſe were very important places, and ought not to be truſted but to perſons whoſe fidelity could not be ſuſpected, let what would happen; that I had ſerved well; but that alſo I was well recompenſed; that it was my own fault, if I was not rich; and that, conſidering my character, I ſhould never ſtain it, whatever poſt they gave me. I knew prince *Eugene* had given me his vote; but that he had backed my demand very feebly.

I am not able to expreſs how much this refuſal chagrined me; tho' the emperor ſoftened it by the moſt obliging words in the world. To diſſipate this melancholy, I gave myſelf up more than ever to intriguing; and muſt have difficult conqueſts. I caſt my eyes on the wife of an embaſſador; for I would not for any thing expoſe the honour of a young lady of quality. This embaſſadreſs was not handſome, but of a proper ſhape, and a majeſtic port; ſhe did not ſeem to be above thirty. For ſome years that ſhe had been at *Vienna*, nobody was in her favour. The embaſſador was an orderly man,

man, his houſe was well regulated; there was a good reception there, but he had eſtabliſhed only a reſerve of two or three friends to ſup with him, all the reſt retiring about nine o'clock at night. I had been there ſeveral times, as every where elſe, without being particular. I multiplied my viſits by degrees, they became frequent, under pretence that the aſſembly was leſs diſorderly, than at other places; and they played rather for amuſement, than for winning.

I am naturally gay, and my converſation had been very jocund: I became thoughtful, and every day ſpoke leſs. They rallied me upon it, the embaſſadreſs eſpecially; I laid the cauſe upon my family affairs. I had at that time a great law-ſuit with my brother. Finding me alone one day, ſhe ſaid to me, your diſintereſtedneſs is too well known, to induce me to believe, that can be the occaſion of your melancholy; I abſolutely will have you tell me what it is. I anſwered, that I would keep nothing ſecret from her, provided ſhe would promiſe to conceal what I ſhould truſt her with. Somebody coming in interrupted us. She was curious to know my ſecret, ſo I did not keep it long. I explained myſelf in the moſt tender and reſpectful manner; I even ſeemed to ſurpaſs myſelf, and never perſonated a paſſionate and ſubmiſſive lover ſo well. My declaration did not ſtartle her, but ſhe received it with great ſeriouſneſs. She told me, that ſhe would keep her word, and not diſcover me; but deſired I would mention it no more. This dry anſwer did not make me at all deſpair. I only took care to obey the orders ſhe had intimated to me: I became more aſſiduous than ever, and reſumed my gaiety. I explained from whence my change proceeded, and ſaid before the embaſſadreſs, that ſince I had laid my buſineſs before an able lawyer, I was in hopes of ſucceſs. My perſeverance touched

her, perhaps she had only a mind to try me. Going out one evening, she squeezed me by the hand, and said, to-morrow at half an hour after four. Her husband was then to have a conference with the prime minister; and under pretence of an indisposition, she gave out in the morning, that there would be no assembly. I found her upon her bed in a very proper undress; and she had not at all the look of a sick woman. Two of her women were with her; one of whom she sent away, that was not her confident. Speaking then with an open heart, she said, making me draw nearer, I believe you love me; two months trial to a man of your character, would have been insupportable, without a true love; for indeed what merit can you have in deceiving me; my husband has not used you as the gentleman at *Cosma* did. A thousand protestations on my side confirmed her in her sentiments. She was not false; I loved her truly; and in assuring her, that I should always love her, I believe I spoke the truth. The confident retired into the antichamber, and left us together all the time that we wanted to prove that we loved one another. We must meet again, said she, before she sent me away. The opportunity that I must take, may perhaps not happen these six months. Do not expect any letters on my part, and I forbid you writing to me; consult with that girl; I shall lend a hand to whatsoever shall be any ways feasible; but consider well, that my husband follows the old fashion, and that he beds with me every night.

That chambermaid and I consulted together; and this is what we agreed on. Mr. ——, the embassador, always slept so sound, that thunder could not wake him. If he chanced to wake, it was only for a moment; he only felt if he had any body by his side. It was contrived, that I should conceal myself in that maid's chamber, and that

that ſhe ſhould take her miſtreſs's place, while ſhe came to me. This ſtratagem, odd as it was, ſucceeded perfectly well, until an accident put an end to our amours.

This chain broken, I was not long in forging me another, but I had like to have periſhed in it, and it was by a ſort of a prodigy that I eſcaped.

The counteſs of ———, made a great noiſe at *Vienna:* every body, except her huſband, believed that ſhe had never refuſed any man a certain favour; but added that many had diſappeared. Theſe reports were certainly not very attracting: it was no matter, I had a mind to try the adventure. I had viſited her ſeveral times, but only as a perſon whom one viſits out of ceremony. I became more aſſiduous at her houſe, with a more open behaviour. The acquaintance was made in leſs than a month. She gueſſed at me, and made me underſtand it, by ſaying, I have waited for you a long time: I reckon all my other conqueſts as nothing. I anſwered her in the ſame language. Her houſe was very diſorderly; one might go in or out without any body taking notice of it: ſo that there was no difficulty in finding opportunities for a private converſation. Her allurements were not new, but ſhe knew how to ſupply them, with all that laſciviouſneſs had ever taught the moſt famous courteſans. In a word, ſhe was a *d'Olonne*, and her huſband had the ſame character as that famous marquis. The counteſs, of whom I ſpeak, was almoſt as cruel as ſhe was laſcivious. She had deſtroyed many of her gallants. One evening as I was entering in my uſual manner, a waiting-woman ſaid to me, when you go from my lady's houſe, I have ſomewhat to tell you; you will find me in the little hall below. I went there. She ſaid to me, Sir, take care of yourſelf; at the next turning going from hence, you will be attacked by three men maſked; another

time

time I will tell you more; for I ſhould be undone if it was known that I had ſpoke to you.

It was my cuſtom, in theſe nocturnal viſits, always to carry two pocket piſtols, and a good and ſtrong ſword, which I put under my arm, and kept my piſtols ready. Theſe three aſſaſſins were raſcals without hearts. They attacked me; a piſtol that I fired, wounded one and brought him down, and made the others fly. The waiting-woman came to me, and told me all her miſtreſs's life. I demanded a particular audience of the emperor, and informed him of it. With the conſent of her huſband, this ſhrew was ſeized eight or ten days afterwards, and ſhut up in a caſtle ſituated in the mountains of *Tirol*. This adventure entirely cured me of hazardous paſſions, and I was determined to engage in none, but eaſy amours, for the future.

According to the promiſe, that the emperor had made, to give me ſome employment of diſtinction, in the room of the two governments in *Hungary*, I was ſent into *Italy*, on account of the enterprizes of cardinal *Alberoni*. I did very great ſervice there, and ſuch as none other beſides myſelf could do. We failed almoſt entirely in the enterprizes that we were charged to undertake; firſt in *Sardinia*, and afterwards in *Sicily*. I ſent count *de la Tour*, the lieutenant colonel of my regiment into *France*. The duke of *Orleans*, then regent, received him in the moſt obliging manner, commanded three months ſubſidy to be advanced him, gave orders to the arſenals of *Provence*, to furniſh me with all the ammunition and artillery that I ſhould require; and wrote me word, that it was on my account he had done this, not being obliged to it by treaties.

I believe that I ſaid before, or at leaſt I ought to have told it, that I had formerly the honour to belong to the court of that prince, when he was a child,

child, and that we were nearly of the ſame age. He had always preſerved a friendſhip for me; as ſoon as he was in power he gave me ſolid proofs of it. He had diſanulled the ſentence pronounced againſt me by outlawry, when I quitted the kingdom, and went over to the emperor. I ſhould even have recovered my eſtate; and he had the goodneſs to declare for me, againſt my brother, who would not quit poſſeſſion. My wife was at the royal palace, reſpected by the ducheſs of *Orleans*, as if ſhe had been her own ſiſter.

This war did not laſt long; *Sicily*, from whence they had driven out the duke of *Savoy*, remained to the emperor. The whole world has known the ſhare that I had in thoſe expeditions, and have been witneſs that others have been recompenſed for it. I returned from thence to *Vienna*, with the title that they had given me of general of foot; tho' a good government had been of more value.

After all, this title was honourable; and in caſe of a war would have ſet me in a fair way. But this title being incompatible with that of colonel, I parted with the laſt in favour of count *de la Tour*; but my regiment always belonged me, and continued to go by my name. My union with prince *Eugene* continued on the ſame footing. His great ſucceſs againſt the *Turks*, and the ſpeedy and glorious peace that was the effect of it, had ſet him above every thing: he was preſident of the council of war, and had the greateſt ſhare in all buſineſs. The acknowledgement of his favours, the infinite eſteem that I had for his great talents, which I was better acquainted with than any body elſe, attached me invariably to him; and by a certain delicacy of ſentiments, that perhaps cannot be comprehended, his glory was dearer to me, than his perſon and his friendſhip. From thence our quarrels aroſe, of which the conſequences have been ſo fatal to me,

and

and have reduced me to what I am; not thro' any fault of him, or by his joining my enemies; for I ought to do him the juſtice to own, that he did all that was in his power to ſave me.

This prince, who for certain reaſons, that I cannot relate, would never marry, but always was fond of the ſex, tho' with moderation and without extravagancies. During the war of *Hungary*, he was attached to one perſon, who was the widow of a captain of horſe. A proper ſize was the only charm ſhe had; ſhe was not very young, and rather ugly than handſome; but ſhe had a great deal of wit, eſpecially of that ſort which conſiſts in knowing the foibles of people, and in taking the advantage of it, to lead them without their perceiving of it. He kept her in a caſtle that was about a league and a half from *Vienna*. It was there he ſpent almoſt all the time which buſineſs would permit, and I was often on thoſe parties of pleaſure.

It was perceived by degrees, that this woman was miſtreſs of his heart, that ſhe governed him, and that ſhe managed moſt of his affairs. He did many things that were very much blamed, and that brought little honour to his miſtreſs. I was ſenſibly touched at it, and ſuffering myſelf to be carried away by my zeal and ſincerity, I talked ſmartly to prince *Eugene*. I told him that nobody thought ill of his having a miſtreſs, that they heaped her with kindneſſes; but that his friends could not approve, that the fortune of a great many honeſt gentlemen ſhould depend on the recommendation of that woman; that until that time his reputation and glory had been irreproachable, but they began to ſuffer. I had experienced, that love is ſtronger, without compariſon, than friendſhip, how ſolid ſoever it might be. The prince anſwered me in a very dry way, which was pretty natural to him, that he never meddled with my amours; and added,

ded, ſoftning himſelf a little, that he deſired me to do the ſame with regard to his. He was right in the main, and I own, that I was not wiſe enough to perceive it: I took pet at it as improperly as could be. Vanity and pride ſet me to work; I bantered his miſtreſs, I made jokes on her, and even ſome ſongs, that I ſung before him. In a word we left off ſeeing one another, tho' not without loving each other, at leaſt on my ſide.

As I always continued in the ſame tone, to get rid of me, he ſent me with my regiment into *Flanders*, as general of the foot, that were then in the Low Countries. The commiſſion was honourable in itſelf, and would have pleaſed me, had it not had an air baniſhment, and I had been ignorant of the motive, through which it was given me. I had ſerved in that country, I knew all the nobility, and was aſſured, that the people would receive me with pleaſure. The manner in which I was informed of the choice that was made of me, did not permit me to reply. They told me, that the ſervice of his Imperial majeſty, abſolutely required me to tranſport myſelf inſtantly into the Low-Countries, to take the command there as general of all his foot. However, that order was accompanied with the payment of all my arrears. As I expected to be long abſent, I ſold all my moveables, even my library, as I knew I could buy another in *Holland*. I only carried my plate with me, which was the handſomeſt, and moſt compleat, that was at *Vienna*.

Prince *Eugene* was governor general of the *Low-Countries*. *Prié*, whom I knew, when he was agent in *Italy*, and lately had been made a marquis, was ſub-governor. It was one of thoſe places, that the prince's miſtreſs had given him, and which would have been very proper for gentlemen of a different rank from this new marquis. I ſet out, fully reſolved

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to give him all the vexation that I could, to be revenged of his patron and patroneſs: and I do not doubt, but he had the ſame diſpoſitions, with regard to me.

On my arrival at *Bruſſels*, I ſettled myſelf at the hotel *d'Epinoy*. I affected to live there with greater ſplendour, than I had done any where elſe. I had no trouble to outdo the ſub-governor, who through his avarice, which was extreme, expended as little as he could poſſibly. As ſoon as I was a little ſettled, I kept open table every day, and had a ſet concert twice a week. Altho' I had no wife, the ladies viſited me. *Prié* was almoſt abandoned, they only went to his houſe, out of policy and decorum; friendſhip and pleaſure drew almoſt every body to mine. The citizens followed the example of the nobility, and were entirely devoted to me; partly through equity, alſo partly through malignity. I hearkened to their complaints, and ſupported them by my friends at *Vienna*. The ſub-governor vexed them a thouſand different ways. They were overloaded with taxes, and even their money was altered. They were yet much worſe uſed in the countries; they pillaged them with impunity, and they charged them with *Corvees* *, which they forced them to buy off with money. *Prié*'s houſe was maintained with the preſents only that they brought him from every part; he had them to ſell again, and he actually retailed them. The great credit of thoſe who ſupported him, and partook of the ſpoils of the poor *Flemings*, wiped off all his accuſations, which they regarded as the performance of a *cabal*, of which they ſuſpected me to be the chief. Prince *Eugene*'s miſtreſs told it ſo to all thoſe that would hear her.

Prié and I lived pretty well together in appearance; I viſited him, and he viſited me, even oftner

* A kind of vaſſalage.

than we were obliged to do. His wife was as ambitious, as covetous: she was beside herself to see her house deserted, in comparison of mine: she complained of it, she reproached those that seemed most attached to me, and they rallied her, especially the ladies. I had intelligence of all, tho' I dissembled it. Sometimes out of pity, I carried her my company, and as soon as I went away, almost all those that were at her house followed me.

Being more within the reach of *Paris*, than I was at *Vienna*, I busied myself very much with my law-suit. My brother, of a character quite different from me, added *quirk* upon *quirk*, to keep me out of my estate, of which the late king *Lewis* XIV. or rather *Chamillard*, had given him the forfeiture. I even drew up the most part of my pleas, and gained several branches of my suit, which should have been ended in eight days, if they had done me justice. I was absent, and thro' that I was injured; my brother had children, I had none; they looked upon me as a stranger, and even as an enemy. The court ecchoed with the recital of what I had done to hinder the peace. The duke of *Orleans* stood by me as long as he lived, but he had not power to stop the course of these proceedings. That prince thought of making me return to *France*. He knew that I was fallen out with prince *Eugene*; and he foresaw, that I should infallibly do it with *Prié*; he was acquainted with the *Italians*, and knew what they were capable of. A fortnight before his death, he wrote to me with his own hand in these terms, which I have never forgotten.

'WHAT do you do in *Flanders*, my dear *Bonneval*. You are hot and lively; those whom you have to deal with, are crafty and dissembling; they will play you some scurvy trick.

I would ſee you here again. I ſhall think on it effectually. Send me your views, and what I can do to indemnify you, for what you ſhall quit.'———

I thanked him for his goodneſs, and ſignified to him, that once changing my party was ſufficient: I aſſured him, that I had nothing to fear, and that I could defend myſelf on all occaſions. In effect, what could they do for me? I eſteemed my rank, as general of foot, as equal to the ſtaff of a marſhal of *France*, which they would certainly not have given me. Beſides, in embracing the part of the emperor, I had reſolved to live and die in it.

All theſe employments made me forget gallantry. I ſhould not have wanted for what little I had a mind to borrow. The citizens loved me to that degree, that I believe they would have lent me their wives, and given me their daughters voluntarily. On my arrival at *Bruſſels*, *Prié*'s daughter, whom he had married to count *d'Apremont*, caſt languiſhing looks at me. I am inclined to ſuſpect, that the father and mother were not ſorry at my attachment to her. The marchioneſs aſked me twice or thrice, what I thought of her daughter? and ſhe affected leaving me alone with her: I neglected thoſe advances, and feigned not to perceive them. My *Engliſh* woman, whom I had left at the *Hague*, held place of all with me. I had always taken care of her, and gave her one hundred piſtoles every year; this, with another hundred that her mother received from *England*, ſufficed to maintain them. The mother died at the beginning of the year 1724, and the daughter gave me notice of it by the following letter: ſhe has the copy yet, which gave me an opportunity to tranſcribe it.

'I Have juſt loſt my mother: if I did not rely on you, I ſhould ſay that I had loſt all. As long as ſhe lived, my heart was divided between her and you; now it is wholly yours. I have not made known my ſentiments to you, becauſe I could not follow them; at preſent, as I am my own miſtreſs, I am going to unfold them to you; and think that you will own, there was never any like them. I love you as much as I am able to expreſs, tho' almoſt without any return. My love is tender and lively, yet ſubmiſſive; and jealouſy has never troubled me. I do not ſeek to reign in your heart, I am content with being not entirely baniſhed out of it; I find myſelf diſpoſed even to love ſincerely all thoſe that you love. Should a king offer to place me on his throne, I would refuſe him to be with you, under whatever title you would have me there: it is for you to order what you would have me be. I know you have been ſome years at *Bruſſels*; I am in your neighbourhood; but I would do nothing but what you have a mind to: however, act in ſuch a manner, as I may believe that I am not entirely indifferent to you.'

This letter enlivened all my tenderneſs. I ſent for her. None of my people, but my valet de chambre, knew her. We lodged her at a widow's houſe, who had two daughters, that did not ſee company. Our firſt interview was very moving; ſhe thought ſhe ſhould have died with joy. I never met with the leaſt reproach from her, and her whole conduct proved to me, that ſhe had wrote me her true ſentiments. She was then twenty-eight years of age, and it was ten ſince I had ſeen her. Years had encreaſed her charms, her wit was at its perfection, ſhe had cultivated it by reading, for which I had given her a taſte; and if

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I had followed her advice, I ſhould not have been where I am.

In the diſpoſition that *Prié* and I was in, it was impoſſible that there ſhould not be ſome diſpute. His wife and daughter, and all thoſe that had ſhare in the pillage, ſpurred him on inceſſantly. We had ſeveral conteſts on account of my concerns, and thoſe of my regiment. He played me many querks in the payment of my ſalary, and coſt me ſome letters to *Vienna*; but I had the upper hand of him in all theſe little ſcuffles. In the month of *Auguſt*, 1724, we quarrelled in a moſt violent manner: and it being the principal paſſage of my life, I ſhall lay it open with the more care in theſe memoirs. I have all the writings that I then drew up for my juſtification: many of them appeared at that time, and many alſo remained ſecret. I hope that the reuniting of them together, will give ſuch a clear idea of the uprightneſs of my proceeding, that it will induce all men of honour to be of my ſide; and that ſhame will remain with thoſe to whom it ought to belong.

Philip V. whoſe eſtabliſhment on the throne of *Spain*, had coſt *Europe* ſo much blood, thought proper to quit it, and to place his eldeſt ſon therein. This young prince had married mademoiſelle *de Valois*, one of the daughters of the late duke of *Orleans*. Young and briſk as ſhe was, ſhe had much ado to conform herſelf to the ceremonial of *Spain*. One evening, in the month of *July*, ſhe went to walk in the gardens, in an undreſs, along with two of her women. I have even ſome idea of its being ſaid, that ſhe was bathing in one of the canals. Upon this there was a great noiſe, as if all had been undone. The councils were aſſembled, and it was reſolved, that the young queen ſhould be put under arreſt for ſome days in her own apartments, leſs for to puniſh her than to make

her thoroughly ſenſible of the conſequence of ſuch a proceeding.

This trifle gave occaſion for ſtrange reports. The marchioneſs *de Prié*, and her daughter the counteſs *d'Apremont*, uttered publickly in aſſemblies, and repeated it three or four days together, that the reigning queen of *Spain*'s confinement proceeded from a different cauſe to what was reported. That ſhe had a love intrigue, and that her gallant had been ſtabbed by order of the king, in that princeſs's apartment, and his body thrown out of the windows. They named that gallant, and pretended to have a full information of it by different letters that came from *Madrid*.

This diſcourſe was reported to me. I then contented myſelf with refuting it by ſhewing the improbability of it: but ſeeing that they continued it, and that all *Bruſſels* was infected therewith, I loſt all patience, and I declared aloud, on one of the days of the concert that was kept twice a week at my houſe, that there were none but whores and rogues, who could ſpeak with ſuch indignity of a princeſs of *France*, and of a queen of *Spain*. This declaration was more than ſufficient; but I was not contented therewith; I enlarged upon it, and declared the particulars in a paper, that was diſperſed thro' *Bruſſels*, indeed, without my order, and expreſs conſent; but thoſe that diſperſed it were perſuaded, that they did not diſpleaſe me. This paper was the firſt piece of my proceſs, and was as follows:

'THE marchioneſs *de Prié*, and her daughter, the counteſs of *Apremont*, having ſaid at a full aſſembly in their houſe, and in preſence of the marquis *de Prié*, ſub-governor of the *Auſtrian Low Countries*, huſband of the ſaid marchioneſs, and having continued to ſpread the following reports, as well

well in other converſations, as at their own table, *&c.*

That they had letters, importing, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, a *Fleming*, had been aſſaſſinated at *Madrid*, for having been found in the queen's apartment at night, and that this was the cauſe of that young princeſs having been out of favour with their majeſties, *Don Philip*, her father-in-law, and *Don Lewis*, the preſent king.

This diſcourſe was reported to count *Bonneval*, general of the foot, belonging to the emperor's forces, who has publiſhed throughout all the city of *Bruſſels*, *That the men who made ſuch ſpeeches were rogues and villains, and the women whores and jades, who deſerved to have their gown-tails cut off, ſeeing that it does not become any body in the world to attack the reputation of ſo great a princeſs, ſprung from the auguſt houſe of* France, *and moreover queen of* Spain. *That the ſaid count* Bonneval *does not except any houſe or perſon in* Bruſſels, *even if it ſhould be that of the marquis* de Prié's, *his wife's, or his daughter's, altho' he is ſub-governor of the* Auſtrian Low-Countries; *unleſs they give him inconteſtable proofs of what they have ſo publickly diffuſed againſt that great princeſs, in the preſence of ſo many perſons.*'

My *Engliſh* woman, to whom I gave an account of what I had done, blamed me very much. She told me, that my procedure was like a man of honour, but that it was no ways prudent; that thoſe whoſe quarrel I maintained might abandon me, and perhaps would not take it well; that my enemies would avail themſelves of my vivacity, and the leaſt that could befall me, was to be involved in a long and violent perplexity. I thought the ſame as ſhe did; but I was too far advanced to draw back. I laboured to ſet my affair in its true light; and to

prepoſſeſs, if it was poſſible, the court of *Vienna* in my favour, I drew up an exact relation of the pretended aſſaſſination of the queen of *Spain*'s gallant.

An ACCOUNT *of the* pretended aſſaſſination *of the marquis* D'AISEAU.

'THE marquis *d'Aiſeau*, a man of quality of this country, and eldeſt brother of the count *de Peer*, has been ſome time gone into *Spain*, to inherit an eſtate. It is ten or twelve days ſince the counteſs *d'Apremont* told ſeveral perſons, that the princeſs *Chriſtiana*, of *Hohen-Zollern*, canoneſs of *Miſterbilz*, had wrote to her, that madam *de Réve*, alſo canoneſs, had received a letter from her brother who is in *Spain*, by which he notified to her, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau* had been aſſaſſinated.

This news was ſpread here the firſt day as a common report. Two days afterwards, the marchioneſs *de Prié*, added in a full aſſembly at her houſe, that ſhe knew for certain, that the marquis had been ſtabbed by the king's order, for having had an intrigue with the queen.

They objected, that they did not believe the thing poſſible in ſuch a country as *Spain*. She replied they had it from good hands, and it was that which occaſioned the queen's confinement. That the marquis had been warned to go no more thither; and he having ſlighted that advice, was ſtabbed in the apartment of that princeſs, and his body thrown out of the window.

Many of the nobility of *Bruſſels* were at the aſſembly where this diſcourſe was held, and the next day they begun again in the ſame tone. The day following, the counteſs *d'Apremont* relieved her mother with the ſame news, and thus for four days, one or the other of them, took care to entertain all perſons

perſons with it that came to their houſe, until the whole city of *Bruſſels* was informed of it. The ladies ſet out with the family laſt week to *Oſtend.*

The count *Bonneval*, who has the honour to belong, and be related to the houſe of *France*, by thoſe of *Foix*, and of *Albert*, and who keeps himſelf at home, where the nobility come ſometimes to recreate themſelves, heard this romance as others did, and ſatisfied himſelf with ſhrugging up his ſhoulders at it, as he thought the thing would travel no farther; and he would have been contented, as he was four days together, with undeceiving his friends in private, if he had not ſeen, that the cruel manner, which they continued to ſpread this infamy, in the marquis *de Pié*'s houſe, had made it general news. He thought then that the calumny being become publick, it could be no other ways deſtroyed than by a public contradiction of it; and after having kept ſilent four days, he declared, at a concert of muſick, that was kept at his houſe twice a week, *that there were none but whores and rogues that could ſpeak with ſuch indignity of a princeſs of* France, *and queen of* Spain.

The marquis *de Prié* and his family were then ſet out for *Oſtend*, and count *Bonneval* deſired his friends to repeat what he had ſaid to thoſe of their acquaintance, who might be in an error.

What was moſt extraordinary in this affair, was, that the count *de Peer*, alarmed, as might well be thought, at this tragic news, having ſent an expreſs poſt to *Miſterbilz*, to inform himſelf from madam *de Réve* how it was, ſhe anſwered him, that ſhe did not know what they meant about him, for that ſhe had received no letters from *Spain*, for above five months.

It was with the ſame falſity, that three days before the declaration of count *Bonneval*, the counteſs *d'Apermont* had advanced to ſupport that impoſture, in

in the preſence of the counteſs of *Calemberg*, at whoſe houſe ſhe dined, and the count *de Lanney*, that the dutcheſs dowager *d'Aremberg*, who had ſupped with her the evening before at the marquis *de Prié*'s, had received from *Spain*, as well as the ſieur *de Marmol*, the ſame news of the aſſaſſination of the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, and of the reaſons that had cauſed it. Nevertheleſs ſhe has been obliged to own ſince to the count *de Lanney*, that ſhe had falſely alledged that pretended proof.'—At *Bruſſels*, the 22d of *Auguſt*, 1724.

I confirmed this relation by the moſt clear and moſt convincing proofs, that the calumnies, with which it was filled, had their ſource in *de Prié*'s houſe.

PROOFS *of the* ABOVE RELATION.

THE count *de Lanney*, colonel of one of his imperial and catholic majeſty's regiments of foot, has related to M. *Bonneval*, and to M. *Rouſſeau*, that having ſpent ſome days at the prince of *Horn*'s houſe at *Iſten*, the prince of *Naſſau* came thither to dinner on *Thurſday*, *Auguſt* 10, and that they returned together to *Bruſſels*, where the prince of *Naſſau* told him on their arrival, that he was not willing to trouble the party, with telling them a bad piece of news, but that he could no longer conceal from him, that his friend the marquis *d'Aiſeau* was aſſaſſinated in *Spain*; and that madam *d'Apremont* had learned the news from the princeſs *Chriſtiana*, of *Hohen-Zollern*, canoneſs at *Miſterbilz*, who had it from madam *de Réve*, alſo a canoneſs, to whom her brother, who was in *Spain*, had wrote it: that on *Friday* the 11th the ſame news was confirmed to him with the ſame circumſtances by madam *d'Apremont*: which had obliged him to write

write to madam de *Réve*, to know the truth of it:

That having learned that on *Saturday*, at the marchioneſs de *Prie*'s aſſembly, where the dutcheſs dowager of *Aremberg* was, madam *de Prié* had told ſeveral perſons, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau* had been ſtabbed for an intrigue, which he had with the preſent queen of *Spain*, which had occaſioned the confinement of that princeſs, he went on *Sunday* morning the 13th to madam *de Prié*'s, to know of her, whether it was true, and that ſhe had told him that it was, and that ſhe poſitively knew it; adding, that the marquis having been warned to put an end to that criminal intercourſe, and having ſlighted that advice, was killed, according to ſome in going up a rope ladder, and according to others in a gallery that joined to the queen's apartment, from whence his body was flung out of a window. Upon which he ſaid to the marchioneſs *de Prié*, that knowing *Spain*, and having ſerved there, he thought the thing improbable, and that the toilet of a queen was not ſo eaſy to approach as madam *d'Apremont*'s:

That having dined the ſame day at the count *de Calemberg*'s with madam *d'Apremont*, ſhe ſaid in the preſence of madam *de Calemberg*, that the news of the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, and the occaſion of his death were but too true; and that the dutcheſs dowager *d'Aremberg*, who had ſupped with her the evening before at her mother's, had received letters about it from *Spain*, as well as M. *de Marmol*, which has been found to be falſe.

This diſcourſe, which he had at different times with the ſame perſons, that he might learn the circumſtances of this falſe piece of news, was renewed with them, one after another, on *Wedneſday* the 23d, in ſhewing them the anſwer that he had received from madam *de Réve*, by which ſhe ſignified

to him, that far from having reported, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau* was dead, it was near five months, ſince ſhe had received any news from *Spain*.

On *Monday* the 21ſt, he declared in preſence of the ſame perſons, and of marſhal *de Vehlen*, M. *de Coutreras*, M. *de la Merveille*, and father *Navarra*, that he knew from good hands, that the news concerning the marquis *d'Aiſeau* was falſe; he ſhewed them a letter from *Mons*, that certified to the contrary of it, and repeated to them the converſation that he had upon that ſubject with madam *de Prié*.

The prince *Emanuel* of *Naſſau*, major-general of his imperial and catholic majeſty, had told count *Bonneval*, colonel *de la Tour*, and M. *de Rouſſeau*, on *Tueſday*, the 13th of *Auguſt*, that the day before, he being at madam *de Prié*'s aſſembly, where the prince and princeſs of *Horn*, the internuncio, and many other perſons were preſent; that madam *de Prié* had related to them the aſſaſſination of the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, occaſioned by his having an intrigue with the queen; and that ſpeaking particularly to him, ſhe had ſaid, *that ſhe was not ſurpriſed that the marquis had raiſed his ambition to a queen; but what amazed her was, that ſo handſome a youth could ſuffer himſelf to fall in love with a little monſter, who was the deteſtation of every body.* Thoſe gentlemen aſked him, if ſhe had made uſe of the ſame terms; he anſwered them yes, and repeated them. He told the ſame thing over again in the evening to meſſieurs *Bonneval*, *la Tour*, and *Rouſſeau*.

M. *le Rheingrave*, lieutenant colonel of *Bonneval*'s regiment of foot, being at dinner, at the velt-marſhal *Vehlen*'s, and the converſation falling on the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, he ſaid, that he had been aſſaſſinated in the queen of *Spain*'s apartment for a love affair, that he had with her. The velt-marſhal preſently

preſently replied, that what he ſaid was very free. Then M. *le Rheingrave* told him, that the marchioneſs had related it in that manner to the aſſembly, at her houſe; and that if the thing had been told to him privately, he ſhould have taken care to have kept it ſecret; but that he did not think himſelf under any obligation to do ſo, as ſhe had ſpoke of it in full aſſembly.

Thereupon the velt-marſhal aſked him, whether the marquis *de Prié* was there; he anſwered, yes; and preſently they changed the converſation.

M. *le Rheingrave* told the ſame thing to the count *Bonneval.*

The count *de Calemberg*, colonel in his imperial and catholic majeſty's ſervice, told count *Bonneval*, the count *de Lannoy*, and M. *Rouſſeau*, that the marchioneſs *de Prié* had told him on *Sunday* morning, *Auguſt* 13, in the preſence of the count *de Valſaſſine*, and count *Konigſeck*, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau* had been aſſaſſinated in *Spain*, for having had criminal converſation with the queen; and that having ſlighted the advice that had been given him to quit the kingdom, it drew on him that misfortune, which happened to him, even in the palace.

Count *Konigſeck* related the ſame thing to M. *Rouſſeau*, who dined with him, and his family, on *Wedneſday* the 23d of *Auguſt.*

It has been ſince learned, that while *de Prié*'s family, was at the abbey of *Affligbem*, where they ſpent above a month, M. *Peſters*, miniſter from *Holland*, went thither, and being in the marquis *de Prié*'s room, where he was with his wife and count *de Bournonville*, captain of dragoons in *Weblen*'s regiment, he told them the news he had juſt heard of the queen of *Spain*'s being confined at *Madrid*; to which madam *de Prié* anſwered, theſe very words: *I thought that little harpy would ſoon make herſelf*

herſelf talked of. M. de Bournonville, who heard it, has aſſured the count Bonneval, that he would make oath of it.'

My great affair being to defend myſelf for the boldneſs with which I reproved theſe calumnies, I did my endeavour to juſtify it, by writing the following letter to the emperor, annexing thereunto the pieces, that I have juſt related.

SIRE,

'I Have the honour to approach the foot of your ſacred imperial and catholic majeſty's throne,' with a heart filled with love, duty and reſpect, for your auguſt perſon, and with horror for the cauſe that forces me to ſuch boldneſs, altho' my birth authorizes me to it in the preſent caſe.

The honour that I have to be allied to the royal blood of *France*, by the houſes of *Foix* and *Albert*, formerly kings of *Navarre*, would not permit me, Sire, to ſee the glory and honour of the daughter of the late duke of *Orleans*, preſent queen of *Spain*, attacked with reiterated calumnies purpoſely diſperſed. Your imperial and catholic majeſty will not blame me for the part I have taken, when you know that, beſides the honour of being related to that great princeſs by blood, that I was born a ſubject of *France*, and that my eſtate is there. I have beſides ſuch great obligations to his late ſerene royal highneſs her father, and at preſent to the ducheſs dowager of *Orleans*, for the goodneſs and protection with which ſhe honours my wife in *France*, that I muſt be the baſeſt of mortals, if on an occaſion that amounts to no leſs than ſtaining for ever the honour of the queen, their daughter, I had continued in a criminal ſilence, having ſuch juſt motives to break it. I have room to flatter myſelf, Sire, that your imperial and catholic majeſty, whoſe heart is ſo generous and magnanimous, will

not

not diſapprove of my having defended the cauſe of this young princeſs, ſince at the ſame time it is yours, and that of all the kings and princes of *Europe*; as there is no particular war or enmity between crowned heads, that can authorize their reſpective ſubjects to attack the honour of their ſacred perſons, and ſtill leſs by calumnies.

The marquis *de Prié* beſtirs himſelf very much here, in ſeeking to render my behaviour criminal, by taxing me with having little reſpect for your imperial and catholic majeſty, and for the government. He enquires whither I have wrote, or cauſed any thing to be written into *France*. In ſhort, I do not think, that with all his ſkill, he has found any thing againſt my conduct. Upon which I moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf to the judgment of your imperial and catholic majeſty, to whom I have the honour to ſend all that has paſſed thereupon, to ſuffer, if I have done amiſs, the chaſtiſement due to my fault.

I do not believe, Sire, that your imperial and catholic majeſty will find in the paper, about which the marquis *de Prié* makes ſuch a noiſe here, any want of reſpect to your majeſty's ſacred perſon, or againſt the authority of the government: ſince, in excepting no perſon, I only deſigned thoſe who had attacked the reputation of the queen of *Spain*.

I have alſo ſent an account to the duke of *Biron*, my father-in-law, and to my wife, of all that has paſſed here; as I could not conceal an affair of ſuch importance from perſons that are ſo near to me; and knowing, as I do, the profound reſpect and veneration, which they have for the greateſt and moſt juſt of emperors, and the certitude they have, as well as I, that your imperial and catholic majeſty, who to the title of the moſt auguſt monarch in *Europe*, joins that of the honeſteſt man, and the beſt chriſtian, will not ſuffer the houſe of *de Prié*

to

to extend the authority, that they have in theſe countries, to the calumniating of crowned heads. *Signed, the count* Bonneval. Bruſſels, *the* 30th *of Auguſt*, 1724.

It is not the common practice to addreſs one's ſelf directly to the emperor: the cuſtom is for the military to make their firſt addreſs to the ſupreme *Aulic* council of war: I wrote to that council to juſtify my proceeding, and at the ſame time I fell on *de Prié* in the ſtrongeſt manner.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

'I Have the honour to ſend, as is my duty, to your moſt ſerene highneſs, to your excellencies, and to the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, the copy of the letter, which I have taken the liberty to write to his imperial and catholic majeſty, on what has happened to me here with the family of *de Prié*, with the duplicates of all the pieces concerning that affair; by which your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, will entirely know and perceive the reaſons that induced me to take the part that I have done in the whole of this affair; on which I moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf to their judgment.

I muſt at the ſame time give an account to your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, of the motives that prevailed on me to addreſs myſelf directly to his imperial and catholic majeſty, our auguſt maſter, ſince the council of war, and the preſident thereof, are the channels, by which the requeſts of the military commonly paſs to his majeſty, in which I appear to have wandered out of the right road; and it is upon this, that I ought to make my juſt excuſes.

1. The marquis *de Prié* has himſelf notified and publiſhed, to all that would hear him, ſince he has governed theſe provinces, and has told me ſeveral times, that being the miniſter plenipotentiary and adminiſtrator, charged with the government of the *Auſtrian Low Countries*, by his imperial and catholic majeſty, he did depend immediately on the emperor, and on none other.

2. That the affair that I have met with in the family of the ſaid miniſter plenipotentiary, having no relation to the military; and that miniſter not acknowledging any other ſuperior, but his imperial and catholic majeſty, I ought at the ſame time, that I have the honour to make my moſt humble report, to your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, to addreſs myſelf alſo to the only judge that the marquis *de Prié* ſays he acknowledges.

Theſe, my lord and gentlemen, are the two reaſons that have induced me to take the liberty to addreſs myſelf to the head, at the ſame time that I ſubmit myſelf with an entire reſignation to your deciſion.

I humbly beſeech your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the council of war, to accept the copies of what I have addreſſed to his imperial majeſty, as if I had the honour to write them to yourſelves; ſince it being my duty to give the particulars, and the ſame copies, I ſhould have fallen into an unuſeful and tireſome repetition, in doing otherwiſe than I have done; for that would have multiplied the writings.

The marquis *de Prié*, who is the moſt active man in the world, has ſearched, and ſtill ſearches, with a moſt extraordinary ardour, for proofs, that I have publiſhed a paper injurious to the government: but I never did any thing but by word of mouth. It is very true, that a *Spaniſh Franciſcan*

friar, who officiated in my chapple, communicated without my order, a paper that I had written to aſſiſt my memory, to one named *Contreras*, alſo a *Spaniard*, who either through malice or indiſcretion, diſperſed copies of it, contrary to the promiſe he had made to that good friar, which he had ſworn to. The lieutenant *Rivelot* having alſo heard what I had ſaid concerning thoſe, who had attacked the honour of the duke and ducheſs of *Orleans*'s daughter, queen of *Spain*, which I deſired every one to publiſh after me, not having any other remedy againſt the account that was injurious to the reputation of that great princeſs, which they had diſperſed every where with as much malignity as imprudence. The ſaid *Rivelot*, I ſay, having found the ſaid paper upon my ſecretary's table, with whom he lodges, thought he might take a copy of it, and ſhew it: for which I have not only ſeverely reprimanded him, but have turned away my ſecretary, for having only ſhewed the ſaid paper to a rich apothecary, his intimate friend, who ſerves my family; and I ordered the ſaid lieutenant *Rivelot* to go immediately, and recover the copy that he had given away, upon pain of being committed to the guard.

I lay before your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, the ſame paper; and ſhewed it then to the count *de Lannoy*, to the count *de la Tour*, colonel of my regiment, and to M. *de Rouſſeau*, who have, at my requeſt, placed their certificates underneath it. For there was a paper ſpread abroad almoſt like it, but wherein there were ſeveral eſſential words ſuppreſſed, for to make me directly attack the perſons of the marquis *de Prié*, his wife, and daughter, inſtead of which I ſpoke only of thoſe, who had blackened the queen of *Spain* in their houſe, not only without nomination, but alſo without exception, as your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies,

excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, may ſee by the ſaid paper. They will find alſo by the certificate of the ſame *Zimelet*, apothecary, at the bottom of one of the two papers, that having compared the ſaid paper with that which my ſecretary had ſhewn to him, which he very well knew again, he found them conformable word for word: which may make it ſuſpected, that the alterations that were made therein, might come from thoſe who had invented the ſlanders againſt the queen of *Spain*, and the letters from *Miſterbilz*.

M. *de Prié* alſo made ſtrict enquiry whether I had not written, or cauſed this news to be written, to *Cambray*, to *France*, or *Spain*. I only wrote to my father-in-law, the duke of *Biron*, to my wife, to count *de Windiſgratz*, and the baron of *Pentenrieder*, his imperial and catholic majeſty's plenipotentiaries at *Cambray*. For having heard, that the injurious reports of the queen of *Spain*, had reached the ears of the miniſters plenipotentaries of *France* and *Spain*, I thought it was my duty to communicate to thoſe miniſters, what had paſſed thereupon, in order to ſet them right, and that they might act ſuch a part in the affair as was agreeable to their ſervice. But I neither wrote, nor cauſed any thing to be wrote elſewhere, whatever the marquis *de Prié* may advance.

The marquis *de Prié* may alſo, perhaps, complain of the anſwer that I made to a perſon of diſtinction.

This miniſter having told that perſon, that the clamour I had made in this affair, might be of very conſiderable prejudice to his imperial and catholic majeſty's intereſts, and retard the proceedings of the congreſs of *Cambray*, and that, perhaps, my head might anſwer for the new broils that it might cauſe: I anſwered, *Tell, I beſeech you, the marquis*

de Prié, *from me, that he is miſtaken; for in removing him from the government of the* Auſtrian Low-Countries, *and putting me for two or three months under arreſt, in caſe they find that I have offended, as he ſays, againſt the honour of his government, every body will have ſatisfaction; and that will appeaſe the tempeſt that he foreſees. For he ought to learn, if he does not know it, that ſuch little fellows as we, are always ſacrificed to the honour and intereſt of crowns; and eſpecially him and I who are not natives of* Germany.

As to the reſt, my lord, and gentlemen, I beg of you to excuſe me, if in any thing I have done amiſs; for as the like affair never has happened, perhaps, in the world, I have no guide nor model to follow. But I do not think, that *de Prié*'s family finds in the extent of his powers, nor in his inſtructions, that they have a right to attack the honour of families, and much leſs that of crowned heads; the ſubordination which is due to thoſe that govern, being without force againſt ſuch ſenſible affronts. And as I have the honour to belong to the houſe of *Bourbon*, by the ſovereign's daughters that have entered into mine, I cannot without being diſhonoured ſuffer ſuch an attempt againſt a princeſs of *France*. *Signed, the count de* Bonneval, Bruſſels, Auguſt 30th, 1724.'

At the ſame time that I wrote to *Vienna*, I wrote alſo to *Paris* to my wife, and to the duke of *Biron*, my father-in-law. In the ſame packet, I put a letter for the young duke of *Orleans*. It was my misfortune, that his father was dead. The concern that he would have had for his daughter's honour, and the friendſhip that he had for me, would have given another turn to my affair; and *Prié* would have been happy, if it had not coſt him his poſt, that made him ſo haughty. I related

ted what had paſſed to the duke of *Orleans*; and added, that whatever danger I had ſeen in declaring myſelf ſo boldly as I had done; yet I had not heſitated a moment to ſacrifice myſelf for the honour of his family. That I did not doubt, but his moſt ſerene highneſs would take it kindly of me, and would ſignify at ſome opportunity, if it was neceſſary, that he took ſome ſhare in what regarded me. The prince returned me an anſwer by one of his domeſticks, I believe it was by his chancellor, or by the preſident of his council, that he took my zeal infinitely kind; but, nevertheleſs, that the queen his ſiſter's honour did not depend upon the impertinent diſcourſes that were held; and that I ſhould have done as well to have taken them up leſs ſharply, and without calling any body in queſtion: that as for the reſt, in the grief that he was yet in for his father's death, he could not at all concern himſelf about it.

My wife and my father-in-law were extremely vexed. They treated my declaration with ridicule; telling me, that it would have cut a figure in the times of *Amadis*, when knights made themſelves champions for the honour of the ladies; that I ſhould never grow wiſe, nor live quietly; that the man whom I had to do with, had a hundred times more art than myſelf, and would get the better of me; and that all *Paris* laughed at my adventure: In a word, that they abandoned me, and deſired to hear nothing more of my affairs.

Theſe letters amazed me: I thought that I had done the fineſt action in the world, and did not doubt, but that every body would look upon it as ſuch. They made me perceive, that I ſhould be abandoned; that what I called honour and generoſity paſſed for a romantic virtue, that was no longer in uſe. If they think thus in *France*, what will

they do at *Vienna*, ſaid I to myſelf? I bore up againſt all theſe melancholy thoughts, and content with having done, what I called my duty, I continued to applaud myſelf: I am yet in the ſame ſentiments; and, whatever may be ſaid, if I found myſelf in the ſame circumſtances, I would do as I have done; except that I would not truſt to certain promiſes, and that I would make advantage, perhaps, of ſome diſpoſitions.

Prié, at this time, was gone with his family to take a journey to *Oſtend*; for, by a motive of ſavingneſs he went from *Bruſſels*, as often as he could, to live at the expence of other people. They did not ſcruple to give out at his houſe, that half my regiment, which was at *Mons*, had already run away into *France*, with many of the officers, and that I ſhould ſoon follow them. Upon which I publiſhed this ſhort advertiſement.

There has lately deſerted from Bonneval's *regiment four ſoldiers, and no more; who were drunkards. A rogue has ſpread a report that half the regiment has deſerted. If the count* Bonneval *knew that ſcoundrel, he would give him a hundred blows with a cudgel from his own hand, if his father was a gentleman; and if he was not, his ſervants would be good enough to give him a laſhing bout.* Bruſſels, Auguſt 30, 1724. *Signed* M. Bonneval.

Theſe are the proofs, that this ſlander came from the place I mentioned.

The marquis *de Roiſſi*, the *French* miniſter, being in the country, and *Caſtelingo*, valet-de-chambre of the marquis, being ſent to him by that miniſter's order, he aſked him what news there was at *Bruſſels*; *nothing*, anſwered he, *only that half of* Bonneval's *regiment, which is at* Mons, *has already deſerted into* France, *with many of the officers, and that* M. Bonneval *muſt ſoon follow them. I heard ſay ſo at our*

our houſe, continued he, *where it is publickly talked of.*

A perſon to whom the marquis *de Roiſſi* related all this, having told it again to me, I informed myſelf, whether this new ſlander was actually vented at the marquis *de Prié*'s houſe. I learned that it was not only delivered at that miniſter's, but that there were people who ſpread it in *Bruſſels*. I then publiſhed the aforeſaid note, and I gave it, or had it given, to above thirty officers of his imperial and catholic majeſty's forces who were my friends.

This note contained the whole truth of the deſertion that ſerved to found this ſlander upon, and I thought it proper at the ſame time to cut this blackneſs to the root. I deſired theſe officers to impoſe ſilence both in my name and their own, on all the rabble that talked of it; and this report was ſoon deſtroyed, at leaſt in *Bruſſels*. The marquis *de Prié* continued in this manner to increaſe the diſpute, by ſpreading falſe reports of my approaching flight. But tho' he did his worſt, nobody ever believed, that he was able to make me remove even from my chair, much leſs to make me quit my houſe. He made himſelf laughed at by every body, when he ſaid that he was obliged to ſecure my perſon, from the certainty he was in, that I would deſert; without declaring nevertheleſs the grounds of that certainty, which every body is ignorant of as well as myſelf.

They told me, that it was under this falſe pretext, that he ordered count *de Wrangel*, general of foot, and governor of *Bruſſels*, who was eighty years of age, to go the rounds himſelf all night on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*; on the firſt of *September*, doubled the guards, mounted all the piquet on horſeback, kept the city gates ſhut until ten o'clock in the morning, blocked up my houſe by above ten different poſts, and with a number of ſpies, that looked every way;

having moreover an adjutant of the city there, with a horſe ſaddled and bridled, to be ready to run to the gates of the city, and give notice, when I ſhould come out; and did a thouſand extravagancies.

Prié came back from *Oſtend*, the laſt day of *Auguſt*. The next day the gates of *Bruſſels* remained ſhut until ten o'clock, or thereabouts, and almoſt all the garriſon were under arms; which put all the citizens in alarm, not knowing what was the meaning of it. At the ſame time the hotel *d'Epinoi*, where I lived, was inveſted with ſoldiers and officers of the place, who walked under the windows, always looking towards the door of the houſe. I ſent to know what it was for, and an officer came that moment to let me know privately, that there were orders given to ſtop me, if I went out of my houſe.

Orders had alſo been given, at the city gates, to ſtop all officers that went out, even if it was a general; and this was publiſhed in the city. *Roman* ſubtilty; which the marquis *de Prié* invented to make the mob believe, that having had the misfortune to diſpleaſe him, I thought to ſave myſelf in *France*.

This diſturbance about my houſe continued until two o'clock in the afternoon, with an infinite concourſe of people. During that time, a great council was held at the marquis *de Prié*'s, compoſed of marſhal *Veblen*, of general *Wrangel*, governor of *Bruſſels*, of count *d'Eliſſem*, ſenior of the council of ſtate, who came in quality of ſuper-intendant of the council of war, of count *de Baillet*, preſident of *Malines*, and of *Schennellink* and *Neni*, in quality of ſecretaries of ſtate and war for that country.

Between twelve and one o'clock, general *Wrangel*, governor of *Bruſſels*, entered my chamber with *Neni*, ſecretary of ſtate and war, and *Brandon*, colonel

colonel and major of the place. They told me, as they entered, that they came to aſk me, if I knew a certain paper, which they ſhewed me, to which was joined the certificate of the apothecary, which imported, that my ſecretary had ſhewn it to him. I read it, and found that it was the ſame as that which I had wrote, excepting ſome words which they had ſlid in, and which directly attacked the marquis *de Prié*, his wife, and daughter.

The apothecary, who had only ſeen that writing in my ſecretary's hand, could not remember the entire conformity of that which was ſhewn him on the part of the marquis *de Prié*. The certificate of that apothecary, is older than that which is in the hands of the council of war. He there atteſted, that the writing which I had ſhewn him was entirely the ſame as this, that my ſecretary had made him read it, becauſe that in ſeeing it afreſh, he knew it again by ſome marks. Now in this, only thoſe were attacked, who aſperſed the queen of *Spain*; and not the marquis *de Prié*, his wife or daughter, altho' not naming any perſon, it did not except whomſoever it might be.

I anſwered to that ſort of interrogation, by theſe declarations.

The marchioneſs de Prié, *and her daughter the counteſs* d'Apremont, *having ſaid in a full aſſembly at their houſe, and in the preſence of the marquis* de Prié, *ſub-governor of the* Auſtrian Low-Countries, *husband of the ſaid marchioneſs, and having continued to ſpread the following reports, as well in other converſations, as at their own table*, viz.

That they had letters, importing, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, a *Fleming*, had been aſſaſſinated at *Madrid*, for being found at night in the queen's apartment; and that this was the cauſe of that young princeſs having been in diſgrace with their majeſties,

Don

Don Philip, her father-in-law, and *Don Lewis*, the preſent king.

This diſcourſe was reported to count *Bonneval*, general of the foot belonging to the emperor's forces, who has publiſhed throughout all the city of *Bruſſels*, *That the men who made ſuch ſpeeches, were rogues and villains, and the women, whores and jades, who deſerved to have their gown-tails cut off; ſince it does not become any body in the world, to attack the reputation of ſo great a princeſs, ſprung from the auguſt houſe of* France, *and now queen of* Spain.

That the ſaid count de Bonneval, *does not except any houſe or perſon in* Bruſſels, *whether even it ſhould be the marquis* de Prié, *his wife or daughter, altho' he is ſub-governor for the emperor in the* Auſtrian Low-Countries, *unleſs they give him inconteſtable proofs of what they have ſo publickly diffuſed againſt that great princeſs, in the preſence of many perſons.*

This is the very declaration that I made, excepting the firſt five lines; which five lines, I only ſet down on the paper to aſſiſt my memory, in what had been told to me, and not for to publiſh them; and thoſe firſt five lines were not uttered in the aſſembly, in the declaration that I made verbally, which will follow hereafter.

And as to what has been ſaid in the city, that I have ſpread and publiſhed notes conformable to one that M. *Neni* has ſhewed me, or others upon the ſame ſubject, I declare that thoſe who have invented it, are rogues and liars.

It is true, that after having made the ſaid declaration verbally, I reduced it into writing, as I have juſt rehearſed after the five firſt lines, which makes mention of part of the reports, that had been made to me, and which I did not publiſh at all. But for fear that they ſhould make me ſay more than

than I had ſaid, I ſhewed the original of the preſent paper to three perſons, worthy of credit, to the end that they might know it again in proper time and place, and that the declaration I had made verbally was the ſame, neither more nor leſs.

And having requeſted the ſaid three perſons to examine the ſaid writing, upon the report which was ſpread, that there was a ſort of *manifeſto*, for ſo they named it to me, which was diſperſed thro' the city in my name: I ſhewed to them all three, ſeparately, the paper in which the ſaid declaration was, that I had put into writing for my own remembrance, and which I had ſhewn to them, the ſame 17th day of *Auguſt*, as I made the ſaid declaration upon, to the end that the reports in the city might not render me reſponſible for what was therein added or diminiſhed.

Moreover, in ſhewing the ſaid declaration in writing to the ſaid three perſons, I exacted an oath from them that they ſhould not ſpeak of it to any one whatſoever; which they have very faithfully executed. They have afterwards ſeparately ſigned a certificate, by which they atteſt, that it is the ſame which they had ſeen on the 17th of *Auguſt*; the original of which I have ſent to *Vienna*.

I certify all the above, in the preſence of his excellency the count *de Wrangel*, governor of this city of *Bruſſels*, M. *Neni*, ſecretary of ſtate and war, and M. *Brandon*, colonel and major of the ſaid city. The which, to wit, general *Wrangel*, and M. *Neni*, are come to my houſe, by order of the marquis *de Prié*, to ſhew me another writing, that I might declare myſelf upon the contents thereof. Which writing I have diſowned, as being not at all conformable to mine. Given at *Bruſſels*, *September* 1, 1724. *Signed* Bonneval.

DECLA-

DECLARATION *such as I made verbally, the* 17*th of* Auguſt, 1724. *And which I was willing, that the public ſhould know.*

Gentlemen,

'THERE are perſons in this city who ſay, that they have letters, importing, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, a *Fleming*, had been aſſaſſinated at *Madrid*, for having been found at night, in the queen's apartment, and that this was the reaſon, that this young princeſs had been out of favour with their majeſties *Don Philip*, her father-in-law, and *Don Lewis*, the preſent king.

This diſcourſe has been related to me, and I am willing, that it ſhould be publiſhed throughout all the city of *Bruſſels*; *that the men who made ſuch ſpeeches, were rogues and villains, and the women whores, and jades, who deſerve to have their tails cut off, ſeeing that it does not belong to any body in the world to attack the reputation of ſuch a great princeſs, ſprung from the auguſt houſe of* France, *and moreover queen of* Spain. *That I do not except any houſe or perſon in* Bruſſels, *if even it ſhould be the marquis* de Prié, *his wife or daughter, altho' he be ſub-governor in the* Auſtrian-Low-Countries, *unleſs that they give me inconteſtable proofs of what they have ſo publickly diffuſed againſt that great princeſs in the preſence of ſo many perſons.*

His excellency the count *de Wrangel*, general of foot, and governor of *Bruſſels*, and M. *Neni*, ſecretary of ſtate and war, have promiſed to give me an authentic copy of all this preſent writing. Given at *Bruſſels*, the 1ſt of *September*, 1724. *Signed* Bonneval.

I proteſted ſeveral times, in the diſcourſe that I had with general *Wrangel*, and the ſieurs *Neni* and *Brundin*, that I did not acknowledge them ſufficiently

ently authorized to give me a juridical interrogation; that I did not acknowledge any other ſuperior but the marſhal count *de Vehlen*, who was entruſted with the authority of the council of war in the Low-Countries: but that I ſhould deliver the like declarations in the ſame form to whomſoever ſhould demand it of me; being very glad to manifeſt the truth to thoſe that ſhould be curious to know the bottom of it.

The ſub-governor of the Low-Countries commanded me to be arreſted by general *Wrangel*, governor of *Bruſſels*. I ſtrongly diſputed the competency of it, as may be perceived by the three following letters, which I wrote to marſhal count *de Vehlen*.

FIRST LETTER.

SIR,

'THIS afternoon, general *Wrangel*, M. *Neni*, and M. *Brandon*, having paſſed four hours at my houſe, M. *Wrangel* was called out, who in re-entring my chamber ſaid to me: *Sir, I am ſorry to be obliged to tell you, on the part of the marquis* de Prié, *that as governor, he has charged me to give you proviſionally the attachments.*

To which I anſwered, by the following writing, word for word: *His excellency count* de Wrangel, *having given me the attachments by order of the marquis* de Prié, *I made anſwer to him, that his excellency the marſhal* Vehlen *being in town, I ought not to accept them but from him, being part of the corps that is under his command; and that it is by this channel only, that I ſhould receive them; that is to ſay, this of the ſaid marquis; but nevertheleſs that I ſhould certainly ſtay at home to-day to give the marquis* de Prié *time to proceed, according to the rules of our ſervice, which is to paſs that order by the*

the marſhal at Bruſſels, *this 1ſt of* September, 1724.'

Upon which general *Wrangel*, ſent to M. *de Prié*'s, who made him anſwer, that he had ordered the ſame things to be repeated to me. Upon which I told general *Wrangel*, and M. *Neni*, who returned from M. *de Prié*'s, that I ſhould receive the attachments from the marquis *de Prié* himſelf, or even from your excellency, not diſputing his authority, but the channel that he uſed; and that if he had any difficulty in ſpeaking to your excellency about it, that he might give them me, by a direct order in writing, which I ſhould ſend to your excellency for your approbation.

To which I received for anſwer, two hours after, by order of M. *de Prié*, by an adjutant to M. *Brandon*, colonel and major of the city, who acquainted me, on the part of M. *de Prié*, that I ought to receive the attachments that M. *Wrangel* had given me on his part; and, moreover, that I ought to approve of M. *Brandon*'s ſtaying with me: of which I have the honour to give an account to your excellency, that you may be ſo good as to let me know in writing, what I have to do; to which I ſhall conform myſelf.

I have read this letter to M. *Brandon*, who, as I have had the honour to tell your excellency, has orders to ſtay with me; and I have read it to him, in preſence of colonel count *Calemberg*, colonel *de Mervielle*, and M. *Rouſſeau*. M. *de Brandon* ſays, there is nothing in this letter, but what is agreeable to the truth.

For the reſt, I beg your excellency will inform yourſelf of M. *de Prié*, what reaſon he had to give me the attachments, and the order to major and colonel *Brandon*, to remain with my perſon; and to preſs the marquis *de Prié* thereon, that he may declare it, and to make this demand of him, both

both on your excellency's behalf, as well as mine, to the end that you may give an account thereof to the council of war, if you think proper, as well as I. *Signed* M. Bonneval. Bruſſels, September 1, 1724.'

SECOND LETTER.

SIR,

'THE count *de Wrangel* is returned to my houſe this evening, and has told me, that you have ſaid to the marquis *de Prié*, that I do not depend on your excellency, and that I am not aſſigned to you, from whence I judge, that your excellency has forgot the double orders, that we received from the council of war, touching my permiſſion to go to *Paris*, dated the 16th of *December*, 1723.

As to the reſt, as your excellency has done me the honour to tell me, in anſwer to the letter that I wrote to you this evening: *It is true, that having the honour to command all our forces in this country, ſuch orders ought to paſs by way of you*; the reſt of the letter not relating to my affair, I ſhall ſtick to theſe few lines, which teach me my duty. I have the honour to be with much affection, *&c. Signed* M. Bonneval, *at* Bruſſels, September 1, 1724.'

THIRD LETTER.

SIR,

'I forgot to write yeſterday to your excellency, that having given in the afternoon the note concerning the attachments, ſigned with my hand, to M. *Brandon*, wherein I did not ſtile the marquis *de Prié* his *excellency*, M. *Neni* remarked it, and told me of it; to whom I anſwered, that having given

given the title of *excellency*, for ſix months ſucceſſively to the marquis *de Prié*, without his ever returning it to me, altho' prince *Eugene*, and all the miniſters at *Vienna* gave it to me, I will never give it him as long as I live, unleſs, that on his ſide, he returns it again, as he ought. But, nevertheleſs, I ſet ſo little ſtore by that vain title, that if he gives it me once, I can return it him again, for theſe ſix months to come.

I have remarked, that in the writing which M. *Neni* had orders to read to me, on the part of the marquis *de Prié*, that it had not the leaſt word of *excellency* for me, altho' I was named ſeveral times in that paper.

As to the reſt, your excellency ought alſo to know, that I did not receive the demands of general *Wrangel*, and M. *Neni*, as juridical for me, ſince it is by you only, on your behalf, that they could interrogate me; but having already given the like declarations ſigned, to others that demanded them of me, I made no difficulty to entruſt them to them, to give them to the marquis *de Prié*, having this morning given three or four perſons the like, who came to aſk them of me. I pray your excellency to tell the marquis *de Prié*, that if he will not give me the title of excellency, I will never give it him as long as I live. And as your excellency is head over me, you may, if you judge proper, ſhew him my letter. *Signed* M. Bonneval.

P. S. Your excellency will do me a favour in ſhewing this letter to the marquis *de Prié*, that he may remove the obſtacles, that prevent my giving him the title of *excellency*. *At* Bruſſels, *September* 2, 1724.'

My enemy in the mean while held frequent councils. There was one, on the ſecond of *September*, that laſted from morning, until two hours after midnight. I knew that he had wrote the ſame day to baron

de

de Pentenrieder at *Cambray*, and to the ſieur *Fonſeca* at *Paris*, two duplicates of the ſame letter. That he deſired the firſt to ſhew it to the miniſters of *France* and *Spain*, and the ſecond to ſhew it to M. *de Morville*, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs. On the next day was another great council, where he launched out in declarations and invectives againſt me, as he had done in the former.

The opinion of the council of ſtate, in all the three councils, after things were debated, was unanimous, that they could judge or decide nothing about it: 1ſt, without hearing the parties: 2dly, that the council of ſtate had no power from the emperor to extend their authority to what concerned the government of his forces, that relating only to his council of war, and to him who commanded in chief in the Low-Countries.

It is this then which ſhews that the marquis *de Prié* was ſingle in his opinion, and had took no counſel to commit the violences, that he exerciſed towards me, without making any examination, and without going through the formalities ordained, and ſo religiouſly executed, without any alteration, for time out of mind, among all the forces and ſtates of his imperial and catholic majeſty, under the authority of his ſupreme council of war, whoſe honour and prerogatives were more attacked in what paſſed in this affair, than even my own perſon.

The third of *September*, about three o'clock in the afternoon, *Prié* ſent me an order to repair to the citadel of *Anvers*. It was a defamatory libel, rather had an order. This marquis of new date expreſſed himſelf thus.

ORDER *of the marquis* de Prié, *to general count* Bonneval, *to repair to the citadel of* Anvers.

'AS we have ſummoned general count *Bonneval*, by general *Wrangel*, governor of this city, and by *Neni*, ſecretary of ſtate and war, to explain himſelf poſitively and clearly upon the points contained in the order, which we have charged them with, and that he has ſaid nothing in the anſwer and declaration that he has given, which can juſtify him concerning *the miſchievous proceedings* that he has carried on, and *the bold and indecent diſcourſes* that he has held at his houſe, before many of the nobility and citizens, who were at his aſſembly, on the 17th of laſt month, *againſt the reſpect that is due to the repreſentation* of his imperial and catholic majeſty, our auguſt maſter, with which, we have the honour to be inveſted; and that he has thereby occaſioned thoſe *falſe and ſhameful reports*, which were ſpread to the great ſcandal of this whole city of *Bruſſels*, by *vile and abominable notes*, that have been diſperſed in his name, and afterwards publiſhed in the ſame city by his ſecretary; which has occaſioned ſtrong preſumption, that the ſaid count *was the true author of them*, as alſo of *the unjuſt imputation*, which he has dared to make on perſons, who participate of our character, *and ought to be reſpected by him, and ſecure from all inſults*; and that beſides, *the leave which he gave privately to his ſaid ſecretary, and his precipitate retreat into* France, *after having diſperſed the firſt notes, as the ſaid count himſelf owns, far from juſtifying, accuſes him yet the more.* That he has moreover openly refuſed, and confirmed it by a note, which he wrote to us with his own hand, under certain ill founded pretences, to receive the attachments, which we had given him provi-

proviſionally, on the firſt of this month, by the count *de Wrangel*, as governor of this city, conformable to what has been always practiſed, which lays us under the neceſſity and obligation *to ſecure his perſon, ſo that he may be in a place of ſurety*, to give an account to the emperor of his behaviour: wherefore we command him, in the name of his imperial and catholic majeſty, for all the aforeſaid reaſons, and others by us reſerved, to repair without any delay to the caſtle of *Anvers*, *to remain there until a freſh order and diſpoſal from his majeſty:* and we charge *Tigny*, adjutant-general of the court, bearer of the preſent order, to ſignify it to him, and to give him a copy thereof, if he demands it. *Done at* Bruſſels, September 3, 1724. *Signed the marquis* de Prié.

Copy conformable to the original, ſigned Tigny, *adjutant-general of the court, in the preſence of colonel count* de Calemberg, *colonel major* Brandon, *captain* Dreſſeler, *of* Wehlen's *regiment, the which is charged with the conduct*, &c.

I anſwered it by the following writing.

'THE marquis *de Prié* having this day ſent the colonel and major *Brandon* M. *de Tigny*, adjutant of the court, with captain *Dreſſeler*, of *Veblen*'s regiment of dragoons, for to ſignify to me, that *he was neceſſitated and obliged to ſecure my perſon to give an account to the emperor of my behaviour*, he has ordered me, in the name of his majeſty, for the reaſons alledged in the ſaid order, and others by him reſerved, to repair, without any delay, to the caſtle of *Anvers*, to remain there until a freſh order, and diſpoſal of his ſaid majeſty; and has charged general *Tigny*, bearer of the preſent order, to ſignify it to me perſonally, and to give me a copy, if I demanded it. *Signed, the marquis* de Prié. *Done at* Bruſſels, Sept. 3, 1724.

I have made anſwer to M. *de Tigny*, in the preſence of colonel and major *de Brandon*, that having told his excellency the count *de Wrangel*, and M. *Neni*, in preſence of the ſaid colonel *Brandon*, the day before yeſterday, being the firſt of this month, that I did not at all diſpute the authority of the marquis *de Prié*, as to the attachments, which he had given me, by means of his excellency the count *de Wrangel*, but that they ſhould have paſſed by his excellency the marſhal count *de Veblen*, which was the right *channel:* and as I am a counſellor of war, and that my oath is to obſerve, and to make obſerved the military rules, I cannot ſpeak otherwiſe, nor agree to what is demanded of me, contrary to my oath.

I added to M. *Neni* again, the firſt of this month, that as to the ſaid attachments, if it pleaſed the marquis *de Prié*, to have me receive them in my houſe, that he would give me an order in his own hand, and ſigned by him, which I might impart to his excellency the marſhal count *Veblen*, to receive the orders of the ſaid marſhal; that then I ſhould accept of the attachments. As to-day he is about to remove me to *Anvers*, under the conduct of captain *Dreſſeler*, according to the order received this day, the 3d of *September*, 1724, I have demanded, in conformity to what I had ſaid the firſt of this month to general count *de Wrangel*, and to M. *Neni*, to have the original in my hands of the order of the marquis *de Prié*; but M. *de Tigny* has told me, that he could not give it me, according to the orders that he had thereon, from the marquis *de Prié*.

I alſo demanded of him time to communicate it to his excellency the marſhal *de Veblen*, as is my obligation and oath, in quality of counſellor of war; and he anſwered me, that he had no orders from the marquis de *Prié*, to let me have the original, but only

only a copy conformable to the original, in which copy and original are the following words: *and that beſides the leave, which he has privately given to the ſaid ſecretary, and his precipitate retreat into* France, *after having diſperſed the firſt notes, according as the ſaid* count *owns it, far from juſtifying him, it accuſes him the more.*

As thoſe words might be interpreted to my prejudice, as well as many others that are put into the ſaid order, I declare not to have accepted the ſaid order, but ſimply as to what regards the ſaid decree of *Anvers*, whereof I have ſent a copy to his excellency the marſhal *de Vehlen*, by colonel *de la Merveille*, with a letter to receive his orders.

Colonel *de la Merveille*, being returned from the ſaid marſhal's, has reported to me, in preſence of colonel count *de Calemberg*, colonel *de Brandon*, major baron *de Rheinſheim*, M. *de Groteck*, captain in the *Wirtemberg* regiment; count *de Bournonville*, captain in *Vehlen*'s regiment; baron *Ricdeſel*, captain of grenadiers, in the regiment of *Wirs*; and M. *de Tigny*, adjutant of the court, that he adviſed count *Bonneval* to ſubmit himſelf.

Upon which the count *de Bonneval* ſaid to the company: *Gentlemen, you hear what colonel* de la Merveille *ſays. I regard the advice of the marſhal as an order to go to* Anvers, *and I depart this moment to execute it.*

This writing is given to M. adjutant Tigny, *in preſence of the above-named, for him to give it to the marquis* de Prié. *Signed* M. Bonneval. *At* Bruſſels, September 3, 1724.'

I then ſet out for the reaſons that will appear in the relation that I ſent to the emperor.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the major of the place, an adjutant of the court, named *Tigny*, and *Dreſſeler*, captain of dragoons in *Vehlen*'s regiment, entered my houſe. I had notice given me

a moment before, that my houſe was inveſted by fifty dragoons, followed by an infinite multitude of people.

He aſked the major of the city, what new order he had. The adjutant *Tigny* anſwered, that it was he who was charged on the part of the marquis *de Prié*, to bring me that of which he preſently gave me the copy.

I demanded the original, to ſend to marſhal *de Vehlen*, and to wait his orders. The adjutant anſwered me, that he was ordered only to give me the copy. Nevertheleſs I inſiſted ſome time on having the original, and the adjutant all along continued to refuſe it; ſo that I bid the adjutant ſign the copy, in preſence of the company, and added, that I liked his ſignature, as well as that of the marquis *de Prié*, which he did.

I then ſet out for *Anvers*, where I arrived the 4th of *September*, an hour after midnight. *Dreſſeler*, captain in *Vehlen*'s regiment, coming into my chamber at nine o'clock in the morning to take leave of me, I aſked him for a copy, ſigned by him, of the order which he had from the marquis *de Prié*, addreſſed to general *Wrangel*, and of the receipt that the marſhal marquis *de Rubbi*, had given him. He made it on the ſpot, ſigned it, and had it ſigned by the cornet of the eſcort of fifty dragoons, and then returned to *Bruſſels*.

At ten o'clock in the morning, the marſhal marquis *de Rubbi* came to viſit me, I made him read the copy of the order which the marquis *de Prié* had ſent me by his adjutant, for to repair on his attatchment to the citadel of *Anvers*. And after the marquis *de Rubbi* had done reading of it, I ſaid to him,

SIR,

SIR,

'You have read this order of the marquis *de Prié*; if it was conceived, as is cuſtomary, in pure and ſimple terms, for me to repair hither, I ſhould have nothing to ſay: But as this order, by which he has obliged me to repair to the citadel of *Anvers*, is not an order, but an *injurious manifeſto*, as you ſee, in which he accuſes me of many things that are againſt my honour and reputation; and that moreover he declares in the ſame writing, that I muſt remain in this citadel till a new order and diſpoſal from his imperial and catholic majeſty; I declare before you that I am your priſoner, until his ſaid majeſty ſhall have ordered otherwiſe, and that I do not acknowledge the marquis de *Prié* any more for my ſuperior, but for my adverſary: Which I do the more juſtly, as I ſaw by the receipt which you gave to the captain of dragoons, that the marquis *de Prié* ſtrips himſelf of all the authority that he pretends to have over me, by delivering me up to your orders, until our auguſt maſter ſhall order otherwiſe.'

To which the marſhal marquis *de Rubbi* made anſwer: Sir, it is the order that I received from the marquis *de Prié*, and you ſhall be as much maſter in the citadel as I am, until the emperor's commands. I am only ſorry that we cannot walk out together into the city.

I then got ready to go out with him without taking my ſword, but the marſhal marquis *de Rubbi* ſaid to me, *Sir, why don't you take your ſword?* So having taken it, we went together to ſee the governor's houſe; which the marſhal was willing I ſhould have for my lodging.

It might perhaps be thought that the behaviour of the marquis *de Prié*, with regard to me, being ſo irregular, I ought not to have made ſo much

haſte to ſet out for *Anvers*. It was indeed this immediate deſign, becauſe he always deſired to have a more preciſe order from marſhal *de Veblen*: But I reſolved at once upon it, when being at his garden gate, two burgeſſes of the city of good faſhion accoſted me very warmly, who told me, that they came in behalf of all the faithful ſubjects of his imperial and catholic majeſty, to aſſure me that I had nothing to do but to remain at my own houſe without fearing any thing, and that if I was offered the leaſt violence, they would ſoon drive away the dragoons.

Seeing at the ſame time that they began to gather together in earneſt, I told thoſe burgeſſes that they muſt retire and remain in quiet. But my ſurprize was much greater, when on re-entring my chamber I ſaw a young woman, who approaching me with much eagerneſs, ſlid a note into my hand, and diſappeared ſuddenly. Having read the note, which was viſibly an unknown and counterfeit character, and which I have ſent to his majeſty with the other pieces, I called my ſervants to put the horſes to the coach directly.

An officer hearing me talk in this manner, ſaid to me, *Sir, are you going?* Yes, and as ſoon as poſſible, anſwered I, for fear that worſe ſhould happen; and ſhewed him the note I had juſt received.

Nevertheleſs, in ſome ſort, to ſave the honour of the ſupreme council of war, which was very much injured in my perſon, I deſired colonel *de la Merveille* to go in all haſte to the marſhal *de Veblen*'s, and to tell me his anſwer, whatever it might be, becauſe that it was only for form.

In a moment after I got into my coach, and drove as hard as the horſes could ſet feet to ground, to get the ſooner out of the city; for I was afraid that a longer ſtay might give occaſion for ſome com-

commotion or ſedition; and I was thoroughly perſuaded that thoſe ſort of things are always contrary to the *ſervice of the government.* Beſides, I had room to apprehend, that, entirely innocent as I was of ſuch a diſpoſition in the inhabitants, the marquis *de Prié*, who was the true cauſe of it, would not fail to make uſe of it with advantage againſt me; becauſe he would have imputed to me the tumult that might happen, if, however, he could have eſcaped the citizens, who were very much exaſperated and incenſed againſt him.

The note which I have mentioned was expreſſed in theſe terms:

'His excellency general *Bonneval* has nothing to fear in his houſe from the violences of the marquis *de Prié*. He ſhall be ſuccoured by the faithful ſervants of his majeſty, on the leaſt noiſe that ſhall be heard in his houſe; and they will attack the houſe of that tyrant at the ſame time, and take ſuch meaſures that he cannot eſcape; all *Bruſſels* being weary of his violences againſt the greateſt lords of the country, of his theft and rapines, and of all the ſufferings under which we groan, without any hope of relief from the court; ſo that the reremains no other help for us than ourſelves. *Signed, the faithful ſubjects of his imperial majeſty.*'

It is certain, that if I had a mind to have made any reſiſtance, I ſhould have been the ſtrongeſt, for *Prié* was hated to the higheſt degree. I had part of my regiment at *Bruſſels*, and thoſe that were at *Mons* would not have failed coming to join me. The inhabitants of the country, and the citizens of other cities would have followed the example of the capital. There were few forces in it, and the place was badly furniſhed: Perhaps we ſhould have been aſſiſted, at leaſt underhandedly, by ſome of the

the neighbouring powers. That thought did not occur to me; I feared that the note of which I juſt ſpoke, was only an artifice of my enemies. However, that method would have been better than this that I have ſince taken. They have ſhewn me no kindneſs for not having done the miſchief that I could; perhaps they have puniſhed me for having had it in my power to do. I wanted reſolution I own it, and cannot but own, that I made a ſad figure in this affair.

The marquis *de Rubbi*, governor of *Anvers*, treated me in the genteeleſt manner; he was an honeſt man, and one of my particular friends: I had all the liberty that a priſoner could reaſonably wiſh for. As ſoon as I was lodged, I thought of nothing but my defence: I had been finely ſerved; they ſent me from *Cambray* the extract of a letter which *Prié* had wrote thither, to be communicated to the plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain*, in which he had the confidence to aſſert,

'That general *Bonneval* is an *impoſtor without either religion or honeſty*; who has retracted the paper that he diſperſed in *Bruſſels*, altho'. the marquis *de Prié* has convincing proofs that it came from him.

That if he had not let his arreſt ſubſiſt, it was the retraction of general *Bonneval* that was the cauſe of it; and beſides, that he is better placed to wait the orders of the emperor.

That general *Bonneval* is his chief enemy, who has ſought this occaſion to give trouble to the marquis *de Prié*, and to his family; and that all that he has publiſhed, of the death of the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, and concerning the queen of *Spain*, is one of the greateſt infamies, which has no being but in his own imagination.

That

That if the wife of him, the marquis *de Prié*, or his daughter, had ſpoke in ſuch terms of crowned heads, and of a princeſs ſo reſpectable as the queen of *Spain*, he would have ſhut them up, and all thoſe who ſhould have dared to hold ſuch diſcourſe, even if it were the chief perſons in the Low-Countries. That general *Bonneval*, by an unexemplary ingratitude, intended to play him a trick; forgetting the important ſervices that the marquis had done him in *Italy*, at *Vienna*, and at *Bruſſels*; and that he was become his enemy, only becauſe he had refuſed him certain honours, and other demands which he could not grant, without prejudice to his rank and to the ſtate.

That the count *de Calemberg*, whom general *Bonneval* cites for a witneſs to his forgery, was ready to give him the lye; That he talked of it as well as others.

That he has very ſtrong proofs of the forgery; and moreover a certificate of major ——, who proves, that ſupping with the marquis *de Prié* and his family, he had heard nothing mentioned of it.'

MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT *BONNEVAL.*

SECT. I. PART II.

IT may be conjectured how highly I was incenſed at theſe horrible calumnies. I made a verbal proceſs of all that had been done, from the firſt of *September*, to my arrival at the citadel of *Anvers*. I wrote again to the emperor, with all the reſolution that my natural boldneſs, and my innocency could inſpire me with. I cannot make it better known, than by giving my letter; and ſo much the rather, as I cannot abridge it without taking away the greateſt part of its force.

SIRE,

I Have the honour to return again, a ſecond time, to the foot of your imperial and catholic majeſty's throne, upon what has paſſed between the marquis *de Prié* and me, ſince I took the liberty to ſend to your imperial and catholic majeſty a relation, dated the 30th of *Auguſt*, of the calumnies invented

vented in the houſe of that miniſter, againſt the honour of the queen of *Spain*, daughter of the late duke of *Orleans*.

Your imperial and catholic majeſty will have the goodneſs to perceive, by this ſecond relation, which I moſt humbly lay at your feet, the violences of the marquis *de Prié*, from the firſt to the fourth of *September*, which I deign not to complain of, as I am but a low object, when my grievances are mingled with thoſe of ſuch a virtuous, great, and reſpectable princeſs, as her majeſty the queen of *Spain*, and that I ſhould willingly ſuffer many more to ſupport ſo honourable and juſt a cauſe; and to obtain, from the piety and juſtice of your imperial and catholic majeſty, a ſatisfaction proportionate to the offence, which they would have committed againſt her honour.

My diſputes with the marquis *de Prié* conſiſt only of two heads. The firſt is a trifle, in compariſon of the other. It conſiſts in knowing whether I have offended the imperial repreſentation, by my behaviour in this affair, againſt the houſe of *de Prié:* a point of diſcipline, of which the laudable council of war can ſoon inform your imperial and catholic majeſty.

The ſecond head, which is the moſt eſſential, is to know, whether the calumnies againſt the young queen of *Spain*, have been uttered in that miniſter's houſe, and by whom. This is the principal object of this great affair, and upon which, Sire, I have the honour moſt humbly to intreat your imperial and catholic majeſty to order, that prince *Emanuel* of *Naſſau*, major-general and chamberlain, may be examined by the council of war; as alſo *Rouſſeau*, at his entreaty; and that they may be both examined upon oath, on all that they have heard ſaid at the marquis *de Prié*'s, and elſewhere, againſt the honour of the queen of *Spain*, and their teſtimonies brought

to

to your imperial and catholic majesty: *Rousseau* set out from *Brussels*, on the 2d of *September*.

I have also the honour most humbly to intreat your imperial and catholic majesty, to order that there may be examined at *Brussels*, every one by their jurisdictions, and also on oath;

The count *de Valsassine*, governor of the province of *Limbourg*,

The count *de Lannoy*, colonel,

The count *de Calemberg*, colonel,

The count *de Konigsek*, who is married to the daughter of the count *a' Erps*,

The count *de Bournonville*, captain of dragoons, in *Veblen*'s regiment,

The rhinegrave *de Salm*, lieutenant colonel of my regiment,

The marchioness *de Villaroel*;

For to declare all that they have heard against the honour of the queen of *Spain*, and who were the persons that were present with them at the assemblies, conversations, and visits at the marquis and marchioness *de Prié*'s house; and that those who shall be named by the aforesaid evidences, to have been present, may be cited before their judges and jurisdictions, and equally interrogated as well as the others, to declare the truth upon oath.

But as by the violences that have been committed against me, on the part of the marquis *de Prié*, he would not only revenge himself on my person, but moreover shew the witnesses of those calumnies that were spread at his house, to what excess he should carry his vengeance against those who should dare to declare the truth, and to intimidate them by my example, and by the abuse that he has made of the power, with which your imperial and catholic majesty has invested him; to the great prejudice of your majesty's ordinances, and of the prerogatives granted to your laudable council

council of war over all the military. It is upon this, Sire, that I have the honour, moſt humbly and moſt earneſtly to repreſent, that the ſaid marquis *de Prié* may be ſuſpended from all the authority which he has in the *Auſtrian* Low-Countries, as miniſter plenipotentiary of your imperial and catholic majeſty, till our controverſy is ended.

I deſire moreover to have it referred, at my requeſt, to the laudable council of war; that my perſon and all things may be replaced and reſtored, even as is juſt, to the ſtate they were in, before the violence that the marquis *de Prié* committed upon me on the 1ſt of *September*, and which did not end till the 4th; to the end, that the imputations which he has laid againſt me, may be juridically examined and judged at my requeſt, that juſtice may be done, as well to her majeſty the queen of *Spain*, as to me, each according to their grievances.

It is expected from the juſtice and clemency of your imperial and catholic majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to nominate commiſſioners, with power to examine all *de Prié*'s family, upon the evidences that ſhall be given in this affair, to confront the witneſſes, and afterwards to refer the whole to the pious, wiſe, and enlightened judgment of your imperial and catholic majeſty. I hope alſo, out of your great juſtice, that if your imperial and catholic majeſty ſhall find, that the letters written to baron *de Pentenrieder* at *Cambray*, and to *Fonſeca* your miniſter at *Paris*, are ſuch as the extract which has been ſent me from *France*, and of which the copy is in the pieces hereunto annexed, where M. *de Prié* treats me as an impoſtor, *a man without faith or religion, and one who has retracted what he had advanced, &c.* I hope, I ſay, that your imperial and catholic majeſty will be pleaſed to do me the favour to order, that if the marquis *de Prié* cannot prove what he has advanced to all *Europe*

againſt me, to be true, he may be charged to his face, with the ignominy with which he would have blackened my reputation, and that all the titles which he has given me, may fall again on himſelf.

For all which things I have the honour to caſt myſelf at your imperial and catholic majeſty's feet, to demand juſtice upon him. And as no information can be made here againſt him, to whom you have entruſted your power and authority; and it is againſt the rules of equity, that any one ſhould be judge in his own cauſe; I take the liberty to requeſt moſt humbly, a ſecond time, of your imperial and catholic majeſty, that the ſaid marquis *de Prié* may be deprived of all power, during the continuance of our difference; and that you nominate ſufficient commiſſioners to examine the marquis and marchioneſs *de Prié*, and their daughter the counteſs *de Apremont*, upon facts and articles; without which, Sire, her majeſty the queen of *Spain* will remain without ſatisfaction, for the ſlanders invented againſt her honour, and myſelf without obtaining juſtice from the greateſt and moſt juſt emperor that ever reigned.

And as in theſe ſort of affairs, a good ſecurity muſt be given to your imperial and catholic majeſty, my head ſhall anſwer for all that I have had the honour to advance to you.

I dare alſo flatter myſelf, that the baron *de Pentenrieder* and *Fonſeca*, your imperial and catholic majeſty's miniſters at *Cambray* and at *Paris*, knew too well their duty, to have ſhewed the defamatory libel of the marquis *de Prié*, againſt a man of my rank and birth, to the congreſs of *Cambray*, and to the *French* ſecretary of ſtate. But if by chance they have forgot themſelves ſo far, I leave to your majeſty's diſpoſal, the ſatisfaction that I may pretend to, againſt a procedure ſo unuſual among the miniſters

niſters of your imperial and catholic majeſty, who are not appointed to be employed in things of this nature, without an expreſs order from their ſuperiors; praying you moreover to order, that the originals of the ſaid letters may be remitted to your imperial and catholic majeſty, by the two miniſters who have received them; and that if they have ſhewn them to the foreign miniſters at *Cambray* and *Paris*, they may be obliged to declare to thoſe ſame miniſters, that they did it imprudently and without any order; adding thereunto, that they had received an order from your imperial and catholic majeſty, to make ſuch a declaration, as is always practiſed on the like occaſions.

Your imperial and catholic majeſty will not take it amiſs, if thro' the clamour that the marquis *de Prié* has made every where, I have been conſtrained, in defence of my honour, to ſend to *Paris* and *Cambray* relations of all that has paſſed; and that I have moſt humbly beſeeched your imperial and catholic majeſty, that the witneſſes that I have named, may be heard juridically at *Bruſſels* upon the affair of the queen of *Spain*, under ſhelter, nevertheleſs, from the tyrannical power of the marquis *de Prié*: This is what ought to be hoped for, from the clemency of the moſt juſt monarch in the world. *Signed*, *M.* Bonneval, *at the Caſtle of* Anvers, September 8, 1724.'

I wrote alſo the following letter to the council of war, and I have tranſcribed it for the ſame reaſons as the former.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

'YOUR moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and gentlemen of the laudable council of war, will find by the relation hereunto annexed, all that has happened at *Bruſſels*, from the 1ſt of *September* to the 4th of the ſame month.

The marquis *de Prié* has infringed the laws and privileges of the laudable council of war, in a manner unheard of till now; and which can neither be tolerated, nor paſſed over in ſilence, by your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and gentlemen of the laudable council of war, without a total loſs of the juriſdiction of ſuch a reſpectable body, of which I have the honour to be a member.

They will fully perceive, that I am leſs attacked in all that has paſſed, than the military corps of his imperial and catholic majeſty, and the council that has the ſupreme direction thereof; alſo I leave myſelf abſolutely to their deciſion.

I ſhall content myſelf with laying open the facts, as if I had no part in the affair, being ſingularly buſied as I am, in demanding of his imperial and catholic majeſty, our auguſt maſter, the ſatisfaction due to her majeſty the queen of *Spain*; an object that I do not quit, and in regard to which, all the reſt ſeems to me a trifle. For I think myſelf too happy in having ſuffered all the violence of an unjuſt miniſter that abuſes his power, and I am quite prepared to endure more, if it muſt be, for ſo fair and honourable a cauſe, notwithſtanding the conſiderations that my birth and my poſts demand.

Therefore I look upon all that the marquis *de Prié* has done to me, as a private offence, for which I can in proper time and place, have ſatisfaction by myſelf. But as to what regards the juriſdiction of your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, I leave myſelf thereon, to the reflections hereunto annexed, of one of my friends, upon which your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and gentlemen of the laudable council of war, will give what attention they think proper.

I have the honour to ſend them my letter to his imperial and catholic majeſty, with all the pieces, and moſt humbly beſeech them to order, that prince *Emanuel* of *Naſſau* may be interrogated, upon what he has heard ſaid of the queen of *Spain*; as alſo M. *Rouſſeau*, whoſe evidence, as penſioner, and one attached to his ſerene highneſs prince *Eugene*, ought to be depended on by the laudable council of war: They will both be at *Vienna*.

I take the liberty to ſend a liſt to his imperial and catholic majeſty, and to the laudable council of war, of thoſe, whoſe depoſitions I would have taken upon oath, on the ſubject of the calumnies ſpread abroad againſt the honour of the queen of *Spain*, who are in this country, and the moſt part officers in the army, *viz.*

The count *de Valſaſſine*, governor of the province of *Limbourg*,

The count *de Lannoy*, colonel,

The count *de Calemberg*, colonel,

The count *de Konigſek*, who has married the daughter of count *d'Erps*,

The count *de Bournonville*, captain in *Veklen*'s regiment of dragoons,

The rheingrave *de Salm*, lieutenant colonel of my regiment, who is at *Nanci* in *Lorrain*. I deſire that an order may be ſent to him for to come to *Bruſſels*, to make his depoſition; and the marchioneſs *de Villaroel*, who, as wife to one of his imperial majeſty's general officers, as well as priſoner in *Spain*, is ſubject to the council of war;

To the end that all may depoſe upon oath, what they have heard ſpoken againſt the honour of the queen of *Spain*, at the marquis and marchioneſs *de Prié*'s houſe, *&c.* For I do myſelf the honour to refer to the copy of my letter to his imperial and catholic majeſty, for all that relates to your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and gentlemen of the

laudable council of war, as tho' I had written it to themſelves. I humbly intreat them to accept what they will find therein, which ſhall belong to the juriſdiction of the laudable council of war, as being requeſted of them on my part: For in doing otherwiſe, it would multiply the writing to inficity.

I ſhall only add here, that it is the intereſt of the juriſdiction of your moſt ſerene highneſs. your excellencies, and gentlemen of the laudable council of war, to give me the liberty I had before the outrages of the marquis *de Prié*, beginning the firſt of *September*, and ending only on the fourth in the morning, and to order at the ſame time, that the complaints which the plenipotentiary marquis *de Prié* makes againſt me, may be militarily and juridically examined by thoſe that your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war ſhall appoint; and afterwards to proceed to puniſhment or acquittal, by the laudable council of war, according to what ſhall be proved for or againſt me, or againſt my accuſers, neither deſiring favour nor fearing juſtice in this affair.

As to the reſt, my lord and gentlemen, your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and gentlemen of the laudable council of war, will ſee by the extract of the marquis *de Prié*'s letter, that this miniſter having publickly accuſed me of being an impoſtor, on the ſubject of the clamours touching the queen of *Spain*, which he ſaid that I ſpread about myſelf in the city; it is no more in my power to ſpare him on this affair, and that it is indiſpenſably for my reputation, that the title of *impoſtor*, *a man without faith or religion*, *&c.* revert again to him, or fall upon me.

Therefore I requeſt both of his imperial majeſty and of the laudable council of war, that they order

the witneſſes herein above named, to be heard here and at *Vienna*, upon all that has paſſed in *de Prié*'s houſe. For by his imprudence and haughtineſs, he has put it out of my power to deſiſt or draw back from the judgment. The thing is now too far ſpread over all *Europe*, either by the diſcourſe which he has held publickly and in full council, or by the letters which he has written on all ſides, as arrogant as they are full of falſities and lyes. He not only would hide his fear under his boldneſs, but he thinks he can alſo do it by confounding two affairs which have no relation together, to wit, what I have ſaid on the ſubject, of the certainty I was in, of the diſcourſes full of calumny againſt the queen of *Spain*, really held in his houſe, and the method I made uſe of to make known to the publick that they were falſities and lyes.

The firſt point regards the houſe of *France* and the young queen of *Spain*, for which he has forced me to demand ſatisfaction, by his diſcourſe full of inſults, offence and pride, and by his circular letters, to puſh this affair to the utmoſt, which cannot be to the reputation of him and his houſe, in whatever manner it ends.

The ſecond is only a pretended failure of diſcipline, to examine by a council of war. And it is at moſt, as if, for example, the colonel of my regiment, to whom I owe two or three thouſand florins, ſhould have highly abuſed me; for after he ſhould be puniſhed for want of reſpect and ſubordination to his ſuperior, I ſhould be nevertheleſs obliged to pay him the ſum which had been the occaſion of our diſpute.

On the firſt point, I have the honour to demand juſtice of his imperial and catholic majeſty, and of the ſupreme council of war, and that they hear the evidence juridically; for it muſt be known who

ſhall be the *impoſtor*, *the man without faith or religion*, *&c.* the marquis *de Prié* or I.

The ſecond point conſiſts of the inſults done to my rank and birth by the marquis *de Prié*, that I requeſt may be examined according to the military pragmatic of his imperial and catholic majeſty; and that the ſaid marquis *de Prié* be no more both judge and party. *Signed*, *M.* Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 8, 1724.'

As *Prié* had ſaid in his letter that the count *de Calemberg*, whom I cited for a witneſs, was ready to give me the lye; I ſhewed him the extract that was ſent me, and he wrote the following letters to count *de Windiſgratz* at *Cambray*, and to baron *de Fonſeca* at *Paris*.

A letter from the count de Calemberg *to the count* de Windiſgratz *at* Cambray.

SIR,

I Have juſt learned, with much ſurprize, that the marquis *de Prié* ſhould have writ lately to the baron *de Pentenrieder* ambaſſador at *Cambray*, as well as to ſome other perſon at *Paris*; that I was ready to give the lye to general count *Bonneval*, on a certain paper, which has been ſpread in this city, or perhaps on ſome other circumſtances, which regard that odious affair which has made ſuch a noiſe here.

I could not imagine that the marquis *de Prié* could have made ſuch a declaration, becauſe it is entirely contrary to the truth, and that I am incapable of having ſuch thoughts againſt general count *Bonneval*, who has done me the honour to be one of my friends for many years. I always knew him to be a man of honour, open and juſt in all his ſentiments: And as I ſhould be extremely troubled that any one ſhould believe me capable of ſuch a black

black act againſt a friend that I honour; and leſt this report, true or falſe, that is made of me, may, by ſpreading itſelf, take root among perſons who know not my character; I have thought it neceſſary to write thereupon to your excellency, to intreat you, that if this report ſhould be ſpread in your cantons, you would be pleaſed to do me the favour to undeceive thoſe, whoſe knowledge it may come to, as a thing abſolutely falſe. I have the honour to tell you at the ſame time, that I never wrote to any perſon about this affair, but only when with my friends I might have talked of ſuch incredible news as was ſpread about here; I might without doubt name my authors to thoſe that asked it of me, as I ſhall always name them when I ſhall be required in form, without however accuſing any body with having invented it, becauſe I believe all men of honour incapable of ſuch invention. But altho' I do not meddle in any ſort with the grounds of this affair; I do not diſown that I have always thought the procedure of his excellency the marquis *de Prié*, very precipitate and very irregular towards the aforeſaid general count *Bonneval*. I have concealed that ſentiment, as this proceeding is injurious to his imperial and catholic majeſty's officers, and to the authority of the ſupreme council of war, which is the only competent judge of militaries, and alone has a right to inflict on a general or high officer, a puniſhment as great as is in our ſervice, that of a caſtle for a priſon.

I beg a thouſand pardons of your excellency, for taking the liberty to trouble you with this apology. As you are pleaſed to honour me with your friendſhip, and as I know moreover your inclination for truth, I believed that you would not take it ill that I unfold this to you, to the end, that when opportunity ſerves, you may do me the favour to juſtify me where you ſhall find it neceſſary. I have

the honour to be with the utmoſt reſpect, *&c.* *Signed, the count* de Calemberg, Bruſſels, September 18, 1724.

Second letter of the count de Calemberg *to the count* de Windiſgratz, *written ſince that of the 14th of* September.

I Have the honour to acquaint your excellency that I cannot yet get out of my aſtoniſhment, which I have been in, to ſee myſelf named in a copy of a letter, written by the marquis *de Prié* to the baron *de Pentenrieder* and to M. *de Fonſeca*, upon which I have had the honour to write to you before. If that letter is true, it will be very diſadvantageous to the marquis *de Prié*, ſince I repeat it on my honour, that there is nothing more falſe in the world; and that ſince all this controverſy, I have not had the leaſt converſation in the world with the marquis, neither directly nor indirectly. And tho' we dined once together ſince the letter was written, he has not, either then, or before, or after, ever opened his mouth to me on that matter: ſo that I am forced to declare that it is a perfect ſlander, that ſome lover of hyperboles muſt have invented: and I repeat it again, that I never can believe the marquis *de Prié* could have writ a thing ſo abſolutely falſe. But if after all, it ſhould proceed from the moſt reſpectable perſon in the world, I could not avoid giving him the ſame epithets.

What comforts me is, that I am perſuaded that all perſons of honour that know me, will do me juſtice on this account, and general count *Bonneval* one of the firſt. I intreat your excellency to make uſe of this confirmation of my former, to perfect the undeceiving of thoſe, who might be inſtructed by it. As to the reſt, this affair continues to make a great noiſe here, and I believe that it will yet make much

much more a fortnight hence. I have the honour to be with much reſpect, *&c.* *Signed, the count* de Calemberg.'

LETTER *from the count de* Calemberg, *to the baron* de Fonſeca, *his imperial and catholic majeſty's miniſter at* Paris.

SIR,

'I have juſt heard from the count *Bonneval*, that he had ſent him from *Paris*, an extract of a pretended letter of his excellency the marquis *de Prié*, which he had addreſſed to you, Sir; and had acquainted you among other things, that I was ready to give the lye to general count *Bonneval*, on certain writings, or diſcourſes, which relate to the troubleſome affair, which has made ſuch a noiſe here.

As the term of a lye is very offenſive, eſpecially to gentlemen of our profeſſion, I could not refrain from proving the falſity of the aboveſaid declaration, and I could not diſpenſe with having the honour to write to you, to declare to you, on my honour, that during the time of this controverſy, I have not had any converſation, either directly or indirectly, with his ſaid excellency the marquis *de Prié*; ſo that it is impoſſible for me to believe, that the marquis *de Prié* ſhould have wrote you a thing ſo remote from all appearance of truth.

But ſeeing that this account is come to the count *Bonneval*, directly from *Paris*, and that I ſhould be very much vexed, that any one in that city, or elſewhere, thought me capable of ſuch an enormity againſt a friend that I honour, and whom I have always known to be juſt in his ſentiments, I take the liberty, Sir, to addreſs myſelf to you, as to the miniſter of our auguſt maſter, to deſire that you will do me the favour, when occaſion ſerves, to declare to thoſe, who may have been informed of it,

it, that this diſcourſe is abſolutely falſe, and a ſlanderous invention; ſeeing that I am incapable of ſuch thoughts, and am very much offended, at their having dared to involve me in this affair.

I hope, Sir, that you will do me this ſmall ſervice, in teſtimony of the truth. I ſhall be highly obliged to you for it, and ſhall diligently ſeek all occaſions to ſhew you the ſincere acknowledgment and perfect regard with which I have the honour to be, *&c. Signed, the count de* Calemberg. Bruſſels, September 19, 1724.'

My friends did not forget me in theſe ſad circumſtances; they wrote on all ſides conformable to the truth, and to what I myſelf had writ to the emperor, and to the council of war, on this affair; that is to ſay, on the calumnies diſperſed againſt the queen of *Spain*. I ſhall relate but one of theſe letters; it is the count *de Lannoy*'s, to his brother-in-law, count *Konigſek*, general of *Tranſylvania*.

SIR,

'PERHAPS your excellency will not be ſorry to have an account of a great buſtle that has been made here, for ſome time paſt; the circumſtances of which may render it more ſerious than is thought for, and in which I have not been without ſome ſhare.

By a letter which I wrote ſome time ago to my ſiſter, you may ſee that a report was ſpread here, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau* was aſſaſſinated at *Madrid*. It was the counteſs *d'Apremont*, who had this news from the princeſs of *Hoben-zollern*, canoneſs of *Miſterbilz*, and ſaid that it came from madam *de Réve*, canoneſs of the ſame chapter, who had received it from her brother, who is in the *Spaniſh* ſervice.

I had ſpent ſome days in the country; and came to town, on the 10th paſt. On my arrival, I learned

learned this news, which gave me much concern. The next day, being *Friday*, I went to the marchioneſs *de Prié*'s, who preſently lamented very much on that accident. And as I deſired to learn ſome of the circumſtances of it, the marchioneſs told me, *I have not time: go into my daughter's apartment, it is ſhe that has the news.* I went immediately. She gave me the ſame account of his death, and told me that there was already many particular perſons in town, who had letters of it, but nevertheleſs could not name any of them.

I went preſently every where that I thought there were any who had correſpondents in *Spain*. I found nobody who knew any thing of it, which comforted me very much. She had only told me, that it was madam *de Reve*, who had received the news from her brother. The next day I did not go to the marchioneſs *de Prié*'s, nor on the *Sunday* morning. The ſame day I dined at count *Calemberg*'s, where I found madam *d'Apremont*, who on my arrival made it a ſecret, and ſaid at laſt; that the dowager ducheſs of *Aremberg* had ſupped at her houſe in the evening, and had ſaid, that ſhe had a particular letter from *Spain*, which confirmed this misfortune. This gave me much uneaſineſs. Moreover ſhe ſaid openly, that *this misfortune had happened, becauſe the aforeſaid marquis had an intrigue with the queen; that it had been the occaſion of his arreſt; that he was aſſaſſinated in a gallery, near the queen's apartment, and afterwards thrown out of window.*

I anſwered to it, that I could give little credit to ſuch a thing. Afterwards they talked little of it at that time. At night I paſſed the evening at the marchioneſs *de Prié*'s, whom I found with many ladies and gentlemen. She preſently called me to her, and talked to me again of that pretended aſſaſſination, and *told me alſo, that it was ſaid, that*

that it was thro' the queen, with a thouſand little romances beſides, that would be too long to put in writing.

I told her, that as for the aſſaſſination, I very much feared, that it was true; much more, as madam *d'Apremont* had aſſured me, that madam *d'Aremberg*, had told her, that ſhe had a particular letter about it from *Spain*. To which madam *de Prié* made anſwer; *how could my daughter ſay that? for ſhe but juſt ſpoke to madam* d'Aremberg.

I told her alſo, that as for the circumſtances about the queen, I could never believe them. She ſaid that it was told her, that there were many letters about it in town. At laſt ſhe talked much about it openly. I always anſwered in the ſame ſtrain as above. This continued the evening and ended it. The next day, being *Monday*, I went to the marchioneſs *de Prié*'s, who continued all along to talk of the ſame thing, and in the ſame tone: I anſwered as uſual. I went into her daughter's apartment, who held the ſame converſation. She reproached me alſo with having made a quarrel between her and her mother, upon what ſhe had ſaid of the ducheſs of *Aremberg*. I ſaid to her, *you ſhould remember, Madam, that you told it me. It is true*, ſaid ſhe. *But at preſent I am obliged to diſown it, and to ſay that the ducheſs did not tell it me, but that I was told ſo.*

They continued the whole day, in the ſame tone, and the next day, the 15th of *Auguſt*, the day of their excellencies departure for *Oſtend*. I went in the morning to take my leave. The ladies talked continually of the ſame thing, and the marchioneſs, with ſo many romances, that impatient with hearing all her ſillineſs, I ſaid to her, *Madam, indeed I know what that court is, I aſſure you that they do not go to the queen's toilet, eſpecially the queen of* Spain's,

Spain's, *as they go to that of madam* d'Apremont's. She made me no anſwer.

That moment the prince of *Eſquilache* came in, who hearing the converſation, ſaid, that one of his gentlemen had alſo a letter from *Spain*, wherein without naming the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, it was ſaid to him, *you know without doubt the tragical hiſtory, which has happened at our court. It is too important to be truſted to paper.* Upon this I ſaid to her, *Madam, I ought to believe it, ſince your ſon ſays it, but I ſhould be glad to ſee the letter.* To this he alſo ſaid nothing, and they ſet out for *Oſtend.*

In the afternoon, I wrote to madam *de Rêve*, to learn ſome circumſtances. She anſwered me, that far from having ſpread that news, it was near five months ſince ſhe had heard from her brother.

You ſee, Sir, the fine character of this lady. This certainly is not the firſt ——— that ſhe has made in her life. The beſt of all is, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau*, according to all appearance, is well, and knows nothing of the diſorders that he cauſes in this country.

I am come now to the ſecond point of my diſcourſe, which will not be the ſhorteſt, but in requital the moſt curious. I have told you the truth of what I heard; others ſay, that they have heard yet more; I was not there; I know nothing of it. I paſſed to my ſecond point.

The count *Bonneval*, who ſince he has been in this city, has had the beſt company in *Bruſſels* at his houſe, and by his politeneſs and engaging behaviour, has drawn the attention of all the nobility, as many perſons reported to him, the diſcourſe that was held in the city, and at madam *de Prié*'s, declared at his houſe, on the 17th of *Auguſt*, being the day of a concert, where he had many of the nobility, that he had learned, that the diſcourſe here mentioned, was held of the queen of *Spain*; and

and that he was willing all the world ſhould know, that he ſaid, that *all thoſe who had ſpoke of the queen of* Spain, *in thoſe terms, were baſe and wicked men, and the women whores, who deſerved to have their gown-tails cut off; becauſe it did not become any one to talk in thoſe terms of a queen of* Spain, *ſprung from the houſe of* France, *tho' it ſhould be even in the houſe of the marquis* de Prié, *ſub-gover-nor of the* Low-Countries, *his wife, or his daughter.*

Behold then the rough draught of a very ſerious ſtory, as you will perceive by the ſequel, and which will make a great noiſe in *Europe.* This hiſtory has made ſo much noiſe here, that it is ſaid, that *France* has been informed of it, and even the embaſſadors at *Cambray:* that the houſe of *Orleans*, eſpecially, makes a great clamour; and others do not know it yet.

Above all, there are thoſe who pretend, that the marquis *de Prié* muſt have been witneſs to all the the diſcourſes. As for me, I cannot ſay it, becauſe when I was there he was abſent.

The marquis *de Prié* returnedfrom *Oſtend*, the 21ſt at night. The next day evening he heard with aſtoniſhment all the noiſe that this affair had cauſed, and particularly what count *Bonneval* had declared, and that he had acquainted the emperor, the council of war, the prince, and ſeveral miniſters, with his behaviour. He learned alſo, that the foreign courts were informed of it. This very much diſquieted him; and he was ſeveral days without knowing what to do.

Perplexed to the higheſt degree, at length, on the firſt of this month, he held a junto, compoſed of the marſhal general *Wrangel*, two gentlemen of the long robe, and *Neni*, who at preſent has the charge at *Navarro.* He there deliberated upon what he ought to do with count *Bonneval.* Almoſt all of them ſaid, that it was requiſite to acquaint the

the court with it, and to wait for orders about it. There was only one gown-man, and himſelf, that were of a contrary opinion. The ſame day general *Wrangel*, M. *Neni*, and colonel *Brandon*, major of this city, went by the marquis *de Prié*'s order to general *Bonneval*'s houſe, and told him, that they were ordered to ſhew him a paper that was ſpread throughout the city in his name, of which this is the tenor.

The marchioneſs de Prié, *and her daughter the counteſs* d'Apremont *have uttered in their houſes, in full aſſembly, and in the preſence of the marquis* de Prié, *ſub-governor of the* Auſtrian Low-Countries, *husband of the ſaid marchioneſs, and have ſpread abroad the following reports, as well in their converſations, as at their table,* &c. to wit, *they had letters, importing that the marquis* d'Aiſeau, *a* Fleming, *had been aſſaſſinated in* Spain, *for having been found at night in the queen's apartments, and that this was the cauſe of that princeſs having been out of favour with their majeſties her father-in-law, and* Don Lewis, *the preſent king, her husband.*

This diſcourſe was reported to count Bonneval, *general of foot in his imperial and catholic majeſty's ſervice, who has publiſhed throughout all the city of* Bruſſels, *that* the men who held ſuch diſcourſe were rogues and villains, and the women, whores, that deſerved to have their gown-tails cut off, ſince it did not become any one to attack the reputation of ſuch a great princeſs, ſprung from the auguſt houſe of *France*, and now queen of *Spain*.

That the ſaid count Bonneval, *did not except any perſon or houſe in* Bruſſels, *tho' even it ſhould be that of the marquis* de Prié, *his wife, or his daughter, altho' he is ſub-governor of the* Low-Countries, *unleſs they give him inconteſtable proofs of what they have ſo publickly reported againſt that great princeſs, and in the preſence of ſo many people.*

Theſe

Theſe are the chief heads of this hiſtory, which is not yet at an end. There is another yet; which is, that when he gave his anſwer to meſſieurs *Wrangel* and *Neni*, he did not give the title of excellency to the marquis *de Prié*. They aſked him the reaſon? he anſwered, that having given it, for five months together, to the marquis *de Prié*, and it having never been returned him, he would never give it him any more, unleſs he returned it him, as he ought, ſince the prince and all the other miniſters gave it him. But he made ſo little account of that empty title, that if the marquis *de Prié* would give it him once, he would return it him again five times.

The other eſſential part is, that he acquainted the marſhal, that he had proteſted before witneſſes that he did not anſwer at all to meſſieurs *Wrangel* and *Neni*, as to a juridical examination.

And to compleat this enterprize, our great miniſter held a junto in the evening, of the marſhal, *Wrangel*, *Neni*, and two gentlemen of the long robe. He was ſingle in his opinion, and purſued his point, as you have ſeen. And to do it more circumſpectly, he ordered governor *Wrangel* to go the patrole himſelf that night, and that the next day the city-gates ſhould not be opened until nine o'clock. Beſides he poſted dragoons there, to prevent any officer from going out of the city, even a general. He believed, without doubt, that the other had a mind to run away. Moreover, he took the precaution to place a ſerjeant and three men, at the different avenues to his houſe, and in the ſtreets near it; as alſo in *St. Gudale*'s church-yard, and at the bottom of the little ſtair-caſe, behind the chappel of the holy ſacrament, beſides an adjutant of the city-guard, who was poſted in the church-yard, with a horſe ſaddled at the foot of the ſtair-caſe. All theſe guards remained until

Saturday

Saturday, two o'clock in the afternoon, altho' he had agreed with, and given his word to, M. *de Wrangel*, that he would ſtay at home two days; not as under arreſt, as he had made a proteſt againſt it, but to give time to the marquis *de Prié*, to paſs his attachments by the way, that is uſed in the imperial ſervice.

You may believe, perhaps, that this is the whole; but you are going to ſee ſomewhat more curious. The marquis *de Prié*, not contented with that, ruminating always on the work that this had cut out for him at *Vienna*, with the emperor himſelf, and with the council of war, without reckoning what perhaps *France* or *Spain* might do for him, and accuſing M. *Bonneval* with being a ſlanderer, held a council again, to know whether he ought to ſecure his perſon.

Nobody was of that opinion. Nevertheleſs he ſent an adjutant to the marſhal, for to tell him to order count *Bonneval* to go to the caſtle of *Anvers*. The marſhal made anſwer to him, that he ought to remember, what had paſſed in the council. He ſent to him a ſecond time with an abſolute order for him to do it. He was anſwered, that if he did not give him an order in writing, he would not do it at all.

At laſt he reſolved to make a decree himſelf, by which he ordered count *Bonneval* to ſuffer himſelf to be conducted to the caſtle of *Anvers*. He ſent this order to him, by an adjutant of the court, a captain and two hundred and fifty dragons, who went on a full gallop to place themſelves in order over againſt his houſe, and carrying him the order, they permitted him to take a copy of it, which he ſent to the marſhal to know his orders upon it, who anſwered him, that he did not order him to go thither, but counſelled him to obey. He repeated this anſwer aloud, before above fifty officers,

who were in his anti-chamber, and after that, he ſaid that the marſhal's counſel was orders to him, ſo that he was determined to obey.

He ſet out about ſix o'clock in the evening, with the fifty horſe, thro' a multitude of people, who endeavoured to get near his coach, to teſtify to him the concern they were in. There were even ſome of them, who got nigh enough to offer him large purſes of gold, if he would have accepted them, even people, that he was not acquainted with.

You cannot believe, how he is beloved at *Bruſſels*, both by the nobility and the people, altho' he ſeldom went abroad. For at the end of the winter, he was troubled with the gout for three months; in which he did not go abroad three times. But he had always the beſt of company; he gave concerts twice a week, and he received all thoſe that came to him, with the greateſt politeneſs; and he careſſed even the citizens very much: beſides this, he ſpent a great deal of money. Many of our ladies have been often at his concerts, and ſupped there.

The citizens ſoon made paſquinades, and fixed papers at the town-houſe, againſt the marquis *de Prié*, in favour of count *Bonneval*. But the ſoldiery eſpecially were very much offended at the manner, in which he had proceeded againſt a general of ſuch diſtinction. The people ſaid, *If a general of foot was treated in that manner, without doubt, our nobility will be cruſhed to pieces:* with abundance of ſuch diſcourſe, which was not at all diminiſhed, as you perceive, by the hatred that they had to our miniſter. *Bruſſels, September* 8, 1724.

The rhinegrave *de Salm*, lieutenant colonel of my regiment, was gone to *Nantz*, in make his court

court to the duke of *Lorrain*. I demanded of him a depoſition in form, which he ſent me.

The DECLARATION *of the rhinegrave* de Salm, *lieutenant colonel of* Bonneval's *regiment.*

'HAVING been required by his excellency general *Bonneval*, to certify the truth of what I heard at the aſſembly at the marquis *de Prié*'s houſe, I find myſelf obliged in honour to ſatisfy his demand: and I certify, that having played at the aſſembly, at his ſaid excellency's houſe, with the dutcheſs dowager of *Aremberg*, and the marquis *de Prié*, at the beginning of the party, his ſaid excellency being called out about ſome buſineſs in the anti-chamber, the prince *d'Eſquilache* began the party for him; ſo that I do not juſtly remember, which of the two were preſent at the diſcourſe held concerning the queen of *Spain*, and the marquis *d'Aiſeau*; but it is certain, that the marchioneſs *de Prié* came to ſit down by the ſide of the ducheſs dowager of *Aremberg*, and told her, that the marquis *d'Aiſeau* had been aſſaſſinated in *Spain*, for an intrigue with the queen of *Spain*; that it was even ſaid to have been in the palace, and that he had been warned to quit the kingdom in forty-eight hours; but having ſlighted that advice he had periſhed. She even added, that ambition, or his bad tongue had deſtroyed him; for that the ſaid marquis had told her, that at going from *Spain*, and taking leave of the late queen, that princeſs, when he had the honour to kiſs her hand, had locked herſelf up with him. In witneſs whereof, I have ſigned and ſealed the preſent certificate. *At* Nantz, *September* 17, 1724. *Signed, the rhinegrave* de Salm.

I declare moreover that this is what I remember of the diſcourſe of the marchioneſs *de Prié*. But as I have ſpoke of it to his excellency the veltmarſhal, and to his excellency the count *de Bonneval*, as of a piece of publick news, and that my declaration may not be conformable to what I have ſaid to them, and as all thoſe before whom I have ſpoken are men of honour, and of ſuch integrity as is acknowledged by the whole world, I am ready to avow and maintain all that they in honour or conſcience can ſay, that I told them, many circumſtances having eſcaped me, through length of time, and as I would not depoſe any thing but what I know for certain. *Signed, the Rhinegrave* de Salm.'

The other witneſſes, whom I named in my diſpatches to *Vienna*, did as much, and never fact was certified by a greater number of depoſitions, which the birth and known integrity of thoſe who made them rendered unexceptionable.

Until that time, I had written nothing in particular to prince *Eugene*. Altho' we had fallen out, and I had room to believe, that *Prié* would not have dared to behave in this manner, if he had not been aſſured of his protection; I hoped that, full of honour, as I knew he was, he would regard me, and that, at leaſt, he would not declare himſelf againſt me. My letter was preſſing, and I am yet well pleaſed with having made uſe of no term therein that ſavoured of meanneſs. I annexed thereunto the letters of *Lannoy* and *Calemberg*, and the depoſitions of the principal of my witneſſes.

A LETTER *to* PRINCE *EUGENE.*

My Lord,

'YOUR moſt ſerene highneſs will, no doubt, be very much ſurpriſed to find me contending with the marquis *de Prié*; but you will be much more ſo, my lord, if you read the copy of the letter, which the count *de Lannoy* wrote to the marſhal count *de Konigſeck*, his brother-in-law, which I ſent to the laudable council of war, but open; that your ſerene highneſs may be ſooner informed of a very certain truth, which is, that the marquis *de Prié*, by I know not what motive, would make a buſineſs of that, which there was not the leaſt ſhadow to compoſe one of; and which by his ill manners and haughtineſs, he has rendered incurable. The whole turns upon the diſcourſe held againſt the reputation of the queen of *Spain*. I have made a declaration thereupon, ſuch as the count *de Lannoy* ſent to his brother-in-law, who has not loſt a word, he being at my ſide when I made it. He knows alſo, that I put it into writing, to remember it, and that nothing was altered in making it public: that I ſhewed it him, as alſo to count *de la Tour*, colonel of my regiment, and to M. *Rouſſeau*, whoſe certificates are at the bottom, and all alike, which I have laid before the laudable council of war, in my diſpatch of *Auguſt* 30.

Your moſt ſerene highneſs ſees, that ſo far the reputation of the government is not wounded, nobody being named. But let us paſs to the ſecond point, by ſuppoſing even that this declaration in writing, had been ſpread in the city, as the marquis *de Prié* would have proved. Your moſt ſerene highneſs knows, that cuſtom and juſtice require that it ſhould be demanded, of a man of my rank, whether it was true that he had ordered his people,

or thoſe that had publiſhed it, to make ſuch a uſe of it, before proceeding againſt him; but he has not done ſo. For while meſſieurs *de Wrangel*, and *Neni* received my anſwer, he without waiting for it, haſtily ordered me the attachments. All that has paſſed thereon ſince, and which is ſo irregular, is already known to your moſt ſerene highneſs.

That you would conſider alſo, my lord, that all this took its riſe from even ſuppoſing that this writing had been publiſhed by my order, which is very falſe. This miniſter could not be ignorant, that the diſcourſe in queſtion was held in his houſe. If he had been prudent he ſhould have diſſembled the thing, and the knowledge of thoſe who had ſpoke of the queen would have come to nothing of itſelf in three or four days at the utmoſt, and what I had written or ſaid, would have had the ſame lot. Nevertheleſs, if at the ſame time he had thought, that he ought to complain of me, were not your moſt ſerene highneſs, or the laudable council of war my judges? could not he acquaint them with what he thought in my behaviour had injured the repreſentation of his authority, and have puniſhed me by way of my proper juriſdiction? inſtead of all that, what did he do? he ſent meſſieurs *Wrangel* and *Neni* to me, on the firſt of *September*, and without waiting for their report, he, all on a ſudden, ordered the former of them to give me the attachments. That was preceded by enquiries and proceedings, that continued eight days.

On the 2d of *September*, he wrote infamous letters, againſt my honour, to *Cambray* and *Paris*. He had held the like diſcourſe in full council in the evening; and the next day he tranſmitted a cauſe to the congreſs, and to the *French* miniſters at *Paris*, that ought properly to go before your moſt ſerene highneſs, and the council of war, having alſo communicated the ſaid letters to the marquis *de Roiſſi*,

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the *French* miniſter at *Bruſſels*: the whole in ſuch terms as rendered this affair unremediable; that is to ſay, he publiſhed it throughout all *Europe*. This, my lord, is what they call forming of giants to fight with them; and that, if I may dare to ſpeak freely to your moſt ſerene highneſs, this miniſter has thrown himſelf into a labyrinth, which I know not how he will get out of. For I am very certain, that the titles which he has given me, in his letters, and in his order for me to repair to the caſtle of *Anvers*, muſt fall either upon him, or myſelf; as alſo what he ſaid in full council on the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d of *September*. Your moſt ſerene highneſs will perceive by the account of *Lannoy*, to his brother-in-law, and by what the count *de Calemberg* declares to the count *de Windiſgratz*, and to me, that it is not I that am *the impoſtor, the man without faith, without religion, who retracts himſelf*, &c. and who invented the calumnies that I ſpread abroad, *&c.* It will be quite another thing, when all the witneſſes are juridically heard. As your moſt ſerene highneſs protects this man, I am ſorry, that he has made mountains of mole-hills, and that he has obliged me to make known to all the earth, that he himſelf is that infamous perſon. I have the honour to write this letter to your moſt ſerene highneſs, to requeſt moreover that juſtice may be done, and without mercy, either to me, or the other. For one of the two muſt be charged with the titles, that he has given me, and I will never yield to him in the leaſt. You will ſee nevertheleſs, by my diſpatch to the laudable council of war, that I have nothing to fear thereupon, and that what he has publiſhed againſt my honour, at the congreſs, and at *Paris*, will certainly fall upon himſelf. I wait, from your moſt ſerene highneſs, all the juſtice, that I merit, without injury or favour.

As to the reſt, my lord, the count *de Lannoy* makes a miſtake in his relation, in the place where he ſays the following words: *The marquis* de Prié *returned from* Oſtend *the 21ſt at night. The next evening he heard with aſtoniſhment all the noiſe that this affair had cauſed, and particularly what count* Bonneval *had declared, and that he had acquainted the emperor, the council of war, the prince, and ſeveral miniſters with his behaviour. He learnt alſo that the courts were informed of it. This diſquieted him very much, and he was ſeveral days without knowing what to do.*

My firſt letter to *Vienna* was on the 30th of *Auguſt*, and was only a neceſſary precaution that I took againſt the publick informations of the marquis *de Prié* againſt me, from the 21ſt, the day of his arrival from *Oſtend*, to the ſaid 30th; they need only be read to be convinced of it. I had only written to my father-in-law, the duke of *Biron*, and to my wife, in ſending them a relation of what had paſſed at my houſe, after the diſcourſe held about the queen of *Spain*, by deſiring them only to let me know ſincerely, if thoſe reports had any foundation or not, ſeeing that I ſhould be ſorry to be the advocate of a bad cauſe. I demanded ſecrecy of them, and promiſed it them, upon all that they ſhould anſwer me thereupon; of which I have had the honour to give an account to his imperial and catholic majeſty, in my letter of the 30th. As the report ſpread at *Bruſſels*, that this affair made a great hurly-burly at *Cambray*, I judged it neceſſary to inform the plenipotentiaries and his imperial and catholic majeſty of it, that they might underſtand the matter in queſtion. I fully acquainted them that they might impart my diſpatch to the court, but no where elſe. So that I have not divulged the thing but where I ought, and that without carrying this cauſe from its proper tribunal, as the marquis *de Prié* has

has done at the congreſs and in *France*; by which he has laid me under an abſolute neceſſity to revenge it, ſince there are no titles or ranks that can ſhelter it, after that he has been ſo bold, as even to treat a general officer of my rank and birth as he has done, by ſlanders injurious to my reputation, ſpread all over *Europe*, and in a court like that of *France*; and that he muſt needs expect, that after this I ſhould purſue him even to death, not having any conſideration therein but his diſgrace, that would ſtop me.

As to the reſt, my lord, your moſt ſerene highneſs knows perfectly, that on a point of honour I have abandoned my country and my eſtate, to come into the ſervice of his imperial and catholic majeſty, for much leſs than the firſt miniſter of *France* would have done for me. So that you will not be aſtoniſhed, if I am ready to hazard my head upon a ſcaffold in this affair, there being nothing in the world that can make me draw back on an occaſion, where I am leſs perſonally inſulted than the whole body-military of his imperial and catholic majeſty. I am perſuaded that your moſt ſerene highneſs has too generous a heart to diſapprove my ſentiments in this affair. I ſend to the council of war the memoir that I have the honour to preſent to his imperial and catholic majeſty; and I am as it were certain, that your moſt ſerene highneſs will honour me with your protection in an affair, wherein the honour of the military appears as much engaged as mine. *At the caſtle of* Anvers, September 21, 1724.

The prince anſwered me in the language of a judge, that he was mortified at all theſe buſtles; that he could not tell me what he thought; but that I might be aſſured, that nothing in the world ſhould hinder him from doing juſtice.

I was ſoon informed of his true ſentiments. I had an agent at *Vienna* to tranſact the buſineſs of my regiment, who wrote to count *de la Tour*, my colonel under me. The count, who was devoted to me, gave me an extract from this letter.

'As to the reſt, I am ſorry to learn what has paſſed between the marquis *de Prié* and general *Bonneval*. Theſe affairs make a noiſe. His moſt ſerene highneſs prince *Eugene* has forthwith made a report thereof to his imperial majeſty; and it is but too certain, that the procedure of the general comes entirely ill interpreted here. He plays a large game, and he is to look how the thing will end, and whether it will ſleep with the arreſt to which the marquis *de Prié* has brought it. And becauſe he is one of your particulars; I have been before-hand with the prince, having talked to him expreſly upon it, for to remove from him all the diſtruſts and evil impreſſions that he might perhaps have had, that you was of the party. I counſel you not to concern yourſelf in theſe affairs; then you will have nothing to fear that your fortune will ſuffer by them: follow this advice, and depend upon my taking care of your intereſts; and that I ſhall endeavour to divert all I find contrary thereto. *Signed*, Kotch, *at* Vienna, September 16, 1724.'

I took occaſion upon this to addreſs myſelf afreſh to the emperor. I did it as was uſual with me, that is to ſay, as a man that fears nothing, and who aſks no grace nor favour, but only juſtice.

A LETTER *to the EMPEROR.*

SIRE,

I At laſt become troubleſome to your imperial and catholic majeſty, and am aſhamed to be ſo often obliged to lift up my voice from the foot of your auguſt throne to your ſacred perſon. But your imperial and catholic majeſty can alone decide this laſt queſtion;

Which is, that the marquis *de Prié*, who thinks every thing lawful for him againſt thoſe to whom he has an averſion, having ſlandered me at *Paris* and at *Cambray*, in the manner whereof I have taken the liberty to ſend my complaint to your imperial and catholic majeſty, by my diſpatch of the 8th of *September*, 1724, would, it is ſaid, at preſent make it a crime for my having applied a remedy in the places where he ſought to deſtroy my honour.

If he had not tranſmitted by his letters the particular affairs between him and me to foreign tribunals, I ſhould not have been neceſſitated to defend myſelf there.

It has not been, Sire, to demand ſuccour nor juſtice from others beſides your imperial and catholic majeſty, that I communicated to the *congreſs* and to *Paris* my diſpatches to your imperial and catholic majeſty, but to declare the truth whereever he had publiſhed a lye; which was the only remedy that could be applied to this evil, and which was proper to combat the impoſture of a miniſter, who abuſing his character, and the lawful authority with which your imperial and catholic majeſty has inveſted him, has made uſe of it againſt the laws to defame me; a crime much greater, than if I had uſed for my particular revenge the regiment you have entruſted me with.

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As for the reſt, Sire, I am not at all aſtoniſhed at his exclaiming ſo loudly againſt my celerity, for it diſconcerts all his meaſures at the *congreſs* and in *France*. And I hope I ſhall do no leſs by thoſe with your imperial and catholic majeſty and your miniſters, becauſe truth in the mouth of a man, firm as myſelf, becomes always victorious, and eaſily diſſipates illuſion and falſhood before ſuch enlighted and juſt tribunals as that of your imperial and catholic majeſty, and of your laudable council of war.

A quite recent example teaches me alſo, that the wounds which our honour receives by ſlanders muſt be ſpeedily cured. The greateſt enemies to the count *de Windiſgratz*, your imperial and catholic majeſty's plenipotentiary at *Cambray*, having three years ago diſperſed from *Bruſſels* throughout all *Europe*, a report with plauſible circumſtances, that he had brutally killed his hoſt with the blows of a ſtick; this impoſture, as falſe as ridiculous, having not been regarded by this miniſter, has taken ſuch root, according to the intention of thoſe baſe perſons that forged it, that three parts of the world ſtill believe it; a reaſon that made me take part in ſpeedily defending the virtue and glory of the queen of *Spain*, attacked by romancing news, capable of quickly ſpreading thro', and ſeducing the minds of, the whole world.

The honout of a ſoldier, Sire, is like the virtue of a young girl. It is not enough for her to be diſcreet; ſhe muſt alſo ſtifle the diſcourſe that may be formed againſt her chaſtity; for without this there always remains a ſcar upon it. And as the laws permit a young virgin to make uſe of all ſorts of weapons to defend her virginity againſt the violence of thoſe that would attack it; it ought by the ſame reaſon to be permitted me to make uſe of my diſpatches to your imperial and catholic ma-

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jeſty and to your laudable council of war, which may be looked upon as hallowed arms, to redreſs thoſe outrages which are committed upon my honour, there being nothing more efficacious nor more ſpeedy againſt ſuch wounds. For without thoſe, it would happen to me as to count *Windiſgratz*, who has eaſily waſhed from the court and his friends houſes thoſe ſlanders that were ſpread againſt him; but which, quite abſurd and incredible as they were, paſs nevertheleſs, yet, for real in the minds of many people, having myſelf been obliged within this little while to undeceive many therein, who had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by this falſity, altho' it is almoſt three years ſince it was forged here, and immediately diſbelieved at your imperial and catholic majeſty's court.

I have thought myſelf lately, Sire, to be as much expoſed by a like ſtory. It is this; a valet de chamber to the marquis *de Prié*, named *Caſtelingo*, being gone by his maſter's order to the marquis *de Roiſſi*'s, the *French* miniſter at *Bruſſels*, who was then in the country, this marquis asked him what news there was at *Bruſſels*; *nothing*, *replied* Caſtelingo, *only that half of* Bonneval's *regiment*, *which is at* Mons, *has deſerted*, *with many of the officers*, *and that count* Bonneval *muſt ſoon follow them*; *I heard ſay ſo at our houſe*, continued he, *where it is publickly ſpoke of*.

Your imperial and catholic majeſty perceives by this, that the enemies to the queen of *Spain*'s honour and mine, are as great ſcoundrels as thoſe of count *de Windiſgratz*, and that they are of the ſame ſpecies. And I dare flatter myſelf, Sire, that your majeſty will approve of my diligence in readily making uſe of my ſaid diſpatches to undeceive the world in the ſlanders which they ſpread againſt the glory and virtue of that great princeſs, and againſt me for having defended ſo honourable a cauſe: for

nobody

nobody in *Europe* is ignorant that they cannot approach ſo juſt and ſo formidable a tribunal as that of your imperial and catholic majeſty, with falſhood in their lips, or in their writings. And which alſo I told the ſaid miniſters on ſending my diſpatches to them.

Furthermore, Sire, who can ſay how far things may be carried, to preſerve or deſtroy one's honour, ſince it depends on as many tribunals, as there are perſons informed of any ſlanders that are hurled againſt us, and that they muſt abſolutely appear before all, if they would waſh themſelves from them.

Your imperial and catholic majeſty plainly ſees that I have done nothing but what I was obliged to do; and that if the marquis *de Prié* had ſlandered me at *Conſtantinople*, as he has done at *Paris*, I ſhould and ought to have laid my reaſons before the *Grand Viſier* and *Kaimacan*.

As for the reſt, Sire, it is not without Reaſon that *Prié* is vexed at my vigilance; for I diſſipate his artifices. I do not doubt but for his laſt reſource, he will endeavour to ſet a diſh dreſſed up in his manner before the miniſters of your imperial and catholic majeſty; but they are too enlightened not to perceive his deviees. For me, Sire, grown wiſe at count *de Windiſgratz*'s expence, I flatter myſelf that you will have the clemency to receive favourably what I have done.

Our difference is but a private affair, the letters to baron *de Pentenrieder* and to *Fonſeca* prove it, and they explain the nature of it; for, according to him,

I am an impoſter, &c.

I ſpread ſlanders under his wife's and daughter's name, after having invented them myſelf, &c.

I am an ungrateful perſon, whom he has heaped with favours in Italy, *at* Vienna, *and in the Low-Countries*, &c.

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And I am become his enemy, becauſe he refuſed the certain honours, which would have prejudiced his rank and the ſtate, &c.

Your imperial and catholic majeſty, no more than all the crowned heads in *Europe*, have any thing to do here. It is, as I ſaid, only a private difference between him and me.

The tranſporting my perſon to *Anvers*, conducted by a detachment of fifty dragoons, as if I had been a ſecond *Cartouche*, and all the other violences that he committed upon me, are ſo many abuſes of the authority that your majeſty has truſted him with. He has puſhed them to ſuch an exceſs, that there is no example that any emperor of your imperial and catholic majeſty's auguſt houſe, has ever done any thing near it, even againſt thoſe who have really made an attempt againſt their perſons and ſtates, of whatever degree or quality they were; that is to ſay, without having had any citation or examination before the proper juriſdictions, and without making uſe of any formality. There has been nothing here but a precipitation entirely unheard of; inſomuch that this man has very badly repreſented in the Low-Countries the goodneſs and clemency of the auguſt monarch, whom we both ſerve.

If the marquis *de Prié* revenges with ſo much noiſe, oſtentation and ſeverity, againſt a man of my rank in the armies of your imperial and catholic majeſty, and of my birth, his private injuries, what ought he to expect, if your majeſty, with your uſual clemency, ſhould grant to the royal blood of *France*, a ſatisfaction proportionate to the romantic calumnies, invented and ſpread in his houſe againſt the glory, honour, and virtue of a great queen.

I ſhall have the honour, Sire, to conclude this long memorial, by moſt humbly repreſenting to your imperial and catholic majeſty, that it is only

to ſet before you the indiſpenſable neceſſity that every one has to defend himſelf ſpeedily againſt ſlanders, which I have been obliged to myſelf, to prevent the calumnies, which they have ſowed againſt me, taking root. *At the caſtle of* Anvers, *the* 30*th of* September, 1724.'

I added a petition to my letter.

A moſt humble petition to his imperial and catholic majeſty, my auguſt maſter.

SIRE,

THE count *Bonneval* has the honour moſt humbly to remonſtrate to your imperial and catholic majeſty, that he believes he has diſcovered by the aforeſaid letter of the agent of war, *Kotch*, to the colonel of his regiment, that ſeveral of your imperial and catholic majeſty's miniſters, have ſuffered themſelves to appear againſt him, in favour of the marquis *de Prié*, who without doubt had laid ſeveral accuſations againſt his behaviour, and, unknown to him, before perſons whom he reſpects next to your imperial and catholic majeſty, and thoſe that are related to you. And as it is requiſite for his honour, which has been aſperſed all over *Europe*, that the truth of this affair be inſtantly brought to light; it concerns him yet the more that your imperial and catholic majeſty, his auguſt maſter, be inſtructed therein by impartial people: It is alſo expedient for him, that the miniſters, whom he honours and reveres, may be undeceived in the prejudices which might perhaps have been ſuggeſted to them, that he muſt wiſh that the ſtricteſt juſtice may be uſed both againſt the marquis *de Prié* and againſt himſelf, that it may be known which of the two is the impoſtor, the infamous, *&c.* titles wherewith this miniſter would preſent him in his letters

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to *Cambray* and *Paris*, which letters he has certainly ſhewed, and perhaps put into the hands of the marquis *de Roiſſi*, the *French* miniſter at *Bruſſels*, as he was wrote to, beſeeching his favour; that by theſe unheard of proceedings, to the miniſters of your moſt imperial and catholic majeſty, and to his auguſt court, the ſaid marquis *de Prié*, has, with regard to count *Bonneval*, all the advantage that he was able to draw from the character wherewith he is inveſted, inſomuch, that the ſaid count is obliged to demand againſt this plenipotentiary, the ſatisfaction uſual in ſuch like caſes, in the *Germanic* nation, and particularly in the troops and armies of your imperial and catholic majeſty.

For that end, the count *Bonneval*, proſtrate at your imperial and catholic majeſty's feet, has the honour to crave of you the following favours, which he hopes from your clemency and juſtice:

I. That your imperial and catholic majeſty will order a council of war, compoſed of all the military counſellors, generals, and other officers of rank, who are at *Vienna*, who may have for their preſident the marſhal count *de Herbenſtein*, vice-preſident of war, a general officer of reverenced virtue and integrity; and that all the complaints of the marquis *de Prié* againſt the count *Bonneval*, may be ſtrictly examined by this commiſſion, and the report be directly made to your imperial and catholic majeſty, as has been done in a like commiſſion, by the council that was ordered by your majeſty for the affair of count *de Mercy* with his regiment, the count *Bonneval* having had the honour to be one of the commiſſioners, and the late marſhal *d'Ulefeld* to be preſident thereof.

II. That a like council of war may be eſtabliſhed at *Bruſſels*; that the count *Bonneval* may be called thither, and that the complaints which the marquis *de Prié* ſhall have made againſt his behaviour, may

be communicated to him; that they may there be examined with the defence of the said count, and that all which shall be found *pro* and *con*, may be referred to the commission, whereof the marshal count *de Herbenstein* shall be the president; that this council may be entirely composed of officers of the *German* troops, who are acquainted with the military rules and laws of his imperial and catholic majesty; that they punctually examine whether the marquis *de Prié* had power to act and proceed, as he has done against the count *Bonneval*, and return the whole to *Vienna*, with their opinion thereon, according to the majority of voices.

III. And as the count *Bonneval* has many accusations to make on his own part, against the behaviour of the marquis *de Prié*; and that this minister does not depend on the laudable council of war, nor on the military justiciary, which puts the said count out of condition, to obtain the satisfaction that is fitting for him against this party; your imperial and catholic majesty is most humbly intreated to order a commission of the most understanding ministers of your court at *Vienna*, *viz.* the high-chancellor of the court, the president of the aulic council of the empire, the high chancellor of *Bohemia*, the stadtholder of the regency of *Vienna*, the count *de Stirk*, second chancellor of *Austria*, *&c.* therein joining to them the president of the council of *Flanders*, the prince of *Cardona*, a counsellor or two of the Low-Countries, and a secretary, to examine also the complaints of count *Bonneval*; and to the end that the orders may be sent, every time that it is necessary, to a like commission that shall be at *Brussels*, *viz.* either the council of war, or such others at the choice of his imperial and catholic majesty, who shall receive his orders to take informations in the Low-Countries upon the accusations of count *Bonneval* against the marquis *de Prié*, which appears just; this

this minister having stripped himself of his character towards him, by the infamous letters which he has wrote against the honour of that general, and which are such, that the titles which he gives him, must remain on him, or pass over to the marquis *de Prié*, according to the laws of *Germany*; at least, if his imperial and catholic majesty, to whom all shall be referred, does not decide otherwise, in making use of that supreme authority, which he holds of God, and of which he has always made such a holy and just use.

IV. That his imperial and catholic majesty will have the goodness to order, that if there should be cases wherein these councils or commissions, composed of half ministers and half militaries, have need to assemble themselves in one whole body, that they may do it without any other order from his imperial and catholic majesty for to accelerate the affair.

V. That prince *Emanuel* of *Nassau*, and *Rousseau*, who are at *Vienna*, may be examined upon what they know of the calumnies, published at the marquis *de Prié*'s house, against the queen of *Spain*. That the duke of *Ursel*, the count *de Valsassine*, governor of *Limbourg*; the count *de Lannoy*, colonel; the count *de Konigsek*, who is married to the daughter of the count *d'Erps*, the count *de Bournonville*, captain of *Veblen*'s dragoons; the rhinegrave *de Salm*, lieutenant colonel in *Bonneval*'s regiment; and the marquis *de Villaroel*, may all be examined in the Low-Countries, under oath, upon what they have heard at the marquis *de Prié*'s house, against the honour of the queen of *Spain*, and declare the persons present with them; and that all may be interrogated, that is to say, the soldiers by the council of war, and the others by the council of state, or other commission appointed by his imperial and catholic majesty.

VI. If your imperial and catholic majeſty pleaſes to name any body of the council of ſtate in the Low-Countries, the count *Bonneval* moſt humbly beſeeches your majeſty to permit him to except againſt the preſident *Bailliet* and the count *d'Eliſſem*, as being perſons entirely devoted to the marquis *de Prié*; and that the two ſecretaries of ſtate and war *Schnellenck* and *Neni* may not be of the council of war, nor of other ſuch commiſſion for the ſame reaſon. *At the caſtle of* Anvers, September 30, 1724.'

To ſpare myſelf the trouble of multiplying the writings, I wrote this billet to the council of war.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I Have the honour to ſend to your moſt ſerene highneſs, to your excellencies, and gentlemen of his imperial and catholic majeſty's laudable council of war, the copy of the diſpatch dated this day, which I have taken the liberty to addreſs to our moſt auguſt maſter; and that I moſt humbly intreat you to regard it as if it were written to your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, in all things that may concern the military juriſdiction; for the ſame reaſon that I alledged in my two other diſpatches of *Auguſt* 30, and of *September* 8.

Your moſt ſerene highneſs will perhaps be aſtoniſhed to find in my diſpatches to his imperial and catholic majeſty, and alſo to your excellencies and gentlemen, a copy of a letter of the agent *Kotch* to the count *de la Tour*, colonel of my regiment. But having diſcovered therein ſome new falſhood of the marquis *de Prié* againſt me, *which muſt be of conſequence, if the colonel of my regiment can, for fear of ſpoiling his fortune, avoid entering in this party, and in my intereſts*; I have judged that my ſaid

ſaid agent has ſerved me like a knave, for which reaſon I have taken away the agency of my regiment from him and my own, which I have committed entirely to the care of the ſieur *Talkeim*; and I dare flatter myſelf, that your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies and the gentlemen, will have the goodneſs to co-operate, to the end, that the marquis *de Prié* and I may be judged with rigour, on the affairs and differences that we have together. I am, *&c.* *Signed*, *the count* de Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 30, 1724.'

I annexed another to it, to the ſame council, upon what *Prié* had ſpread abroad, that I had favoured my ſecretary's eſcape.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

THE marquis *de Prié* having very falſly advanced, that I had aſſiſted my ſecretary in making his eſcape, I wrote to *Paris* and to *Geneva*, his country, for him to return and replace himſelf in my ſervice, to be ſubject only to the military law: my wife having wrote to me at laſt, that he was at *Paris*, and that he had been to ſee her; I have written to her, as well as to him, that the ſaid ſecretary muſt abſolutely return to live with me on my firſt order; which he will do, as ſoon as a regular council ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and that we ſhall be all under ſhelter from the outrages of the marquis *de Prié*; which I have done to convict that impudent man of new raſhneſs and calumny, in all that he has advanced on the ſubject of the pretended eſcape of the ſaid ſecretary.

Which, my lord and gentlemen, I have the honour to impart to your moſt ſerene highneſs, your excellencies, and the gentlemen of the laudable council of war, that they may have the goodneſs alſo to acquaint his imperial and catholic majeſty, our

auguſt maſter with it, and be aſſured for certain, of the return of the ſaid ſecretary to my regiment, as ſoon as ever it ſhall be neceſſary to appear in form. I have the honour to be, *&c.* *Signed, the count* de Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 30, 1724.'

I wrote to count *d'Herbenſtein*, vice-preſident of the council of war, and to count *de Daun*, formerly viceroy of *Naples*, at that time governor of *Vienna*, and counſellor of ſtate and war.

A letter to the marſhal count d'Herbenſtein, *vice-preſident of war, and to the marſhal count* de Daun, *counſellor of ſtate and war to his imperial and catholic majeſty, lately viceroy of* Naples, *and at preſent governor of* Vienna.

SIR,

'IT is not to prepoſſeſs your excellency in my favour, that I have the honour to write to you, nor that you may ſide with me againſt the marquis *de Prié*, but that you may grant me the honour of your protection, to the end, that I may be tried with candour as well as the marquis *de Prié*, not begging any favour, and deſiring none of any body. The duke of *Aremberg* and another friend will inform your excellency of my defence. You will find without doubt the accuſations of the marquis *de Prié* at the council of war; upon all which I deſire to be tried, and that this miniſter may be alſo, without favour or injuſtice, either to him or me, to know which of the two deſerve the infamous titles, which he has given me at *Cambray* and at *Paris*.

As for the reſt, I fear nobody in this affair, ſeeing that we live under a monarch who takes delight in doing juſtice; and that all which I have to demand,

demand, is, that it may be done without partiality on the part of the principal judges. This is what I moſt humbly intreat your excellency to requeſt in my behalf of his imperial and catholic majeſty, our auguſt maſter, and of which I beg of you to patronize me, as you have always done. *Signed, the count* Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 30, 1724.'

The dry anſwer of prince *Eugene* and his inclinations, which I came to the knowledge of by my agent's letter, had cut me to the quick. I ſent him a writing, which was nothing leſs than a petition, under the following title.

Reaſons that general Bonneval *might alledge to his moſt ſerene highneſs prince* Eugene *of* Savoy, *concerning the continuance of his impriſonment.*

'THIS general cannot doubt, but that his highneſs knows perfectly, that the ſending to priſon a man of his quality, is a puniſhment in all its forms, and even the rudeſt.

That his highneſs muſt alſo know, that there is no tribunal whatever under his imperial majeſty, that is authorized to inflict a puniſhment on any military in his ſervice, beginning from the loweſt enſign, and that this is wholly and ſolely reſerved for the authority of the ſupreme council of war.

That the governors in chief in the dominions of his majeſty, which did belong to the crown of *Spain*; whatever authority they might have had formerly over the ſoldiery of the monarchy of *Spain*, have no more any, at preſent, in what regards the inflicting puniſhments, ſeeing it would be in vain to ordain that ſuch a venerable and auguſt tribunal as the ſupreme council of war, ſhould loſe its authority ſince the acquiſition of the provinces of that

monarchy. Such a thing cannot even be conceived, without offending the dignity of that illuſtrious body, which has always been the ſhield of the imperial body military.

All the above being inconteſtable truths, the count *de Bonneval* having the honour to be a member, and to make part of that ſupreme council, he cannot remain ſilent without betraying his duty; and could not forbear notifying to his highneſs, as to the illuſtrious head of that ſupreme council, his aſtoniſhment and ſurprize, that he, as well as the whole body of his brethren, after ſo much time has paſſed, have not yet made the leaſt ſtep to claim a man of their ſociety; and that without reflecting on the conſequences of ſuch a raſh infraction of their ſupreme authority, they leave him the count *Bonneval* forſaken in a priſon, whither he had not been conducted, but by the uſurped authority of a boiſterous man, without judgment or ſentence; and that conſequently he undergoes a puniſhment proceeding from a foreign tribunal, which cannot but be very ignominious to the ſupreme council of war, and to all his majeſty's generals and officers.

That in all his former diſpatches, he did not think it neceſſary to complain of this grievance, as he was perſuaded, that the firſt ſtep which the ſupreme council would take, would be to preſerve their high authority, and to claim him their priſoner, for to puniſh him themſelves, as they ſhould think proper.

That the count *Bonneval* has not made any difficulty in acknowledging the authority of the marquis *de Prié*, as being able to give him the attachments, having even wiſhed them confirmed to him after the firſt menace made on the part of the ſaid marquis; but that the knowledge, which he muſt have of the imperial ſervice, and of the authority of the ſupreme council of war, as counſellor of war, has

has obliged him to demand that attachment, by the way of marſhal count *de Vehlen*, as the only *repreſentative* of the ſaid ſupreme council in this country, to whom the marquis *de Prié* might give his orders, as the repreſentative of the ſoldiery, juſt as his imperial majeſty gives them to the ſaid ſupreme council; and it is no further than this, that the authority of the marquis *de Prié* ought to extend. But to have undertaken the puniſhment of a man dependant on ſo venerable body, contrary to the privileges of the military, is one of the moſt raſh proceedings, and for which the plenipotentiary owes a public reparation to the ſupreme council, beſides that which the count *Bonneval* demands on his part for ſatisfaction of ſo ſenſible an affront.

That if the count *Bonneval* had done any thing amiſs, which however he does not believe, he has his judges; whoſe deciſion he ſhall quietly wait for; but in regard to the injurious offence, committed and upheld againſt him, even to this time, by this violent and unjuſt impriſonment, he cannot forbear making known to your highneſs, that ever ſince the name of the imperial ſervice has exiſted, there has been no example of a like proceeding againſt a man of his rank in the army, except in the caſe of *læſa majeſtas* for treaſon. That likewiſe the count *Bonneval* moſt ſolemnly proteſts againſt the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an incroachment, and that he will not ſuffer them to make uſe of him for an example in this nature; and that he is not willing to have it tranſmitted to poſterity, that he was the firſt in the imperial ſervice that ſuffered ſuch an outragious attempt, without having a ſuitable reparation.'

I grant that this manner of pleading my cauſe, did not much flatter the pride of my judges; and that it might exaſperate them againſt me. But I alway

always held it for a rule, not to do, or ſay any thing that ſavoured of baſeneſs, and that was not ſuitable to my honour and birth. *Prié* did not uſe them, after this manner; as I have ſeen by his writings: he caſt himſelf at their feet, he embraced their knees, he wrote to them with tears in his eyes, he implored their protection and ſuccour in the meaneſt terms. I believe that I ſhould have turned a ſervant of mine out of his place, who had aſked me a favour in ſuch a low manner.

However intereſted I might be, to ſet the emperor and his councils to work about it, I had at leaſt as much care to inform the public. *Prié* had the impudence to bring our affair before that tribunal. He had reaſon enough to repent it; he received there all the ſhame that he deſerved, and which the iniquity of my judges could not waſh off from him. I printed a paper under this title:

A DECLARATION *that the count* Bonneval *has made publick, concerning the indiſpenſable reaſons, which obliged him openly to except againſt the romantic calumnies ſpread againſt the reputation, virtue, and glory of Madam* de Valois, *at preſent queen of* Spain, *and daughter to their royal highneſſes the duke and ducheſs of* Orleans.

I.

'THE count *Bonneval* has the honour to be allied to the royal blood of *France*, by the houſes of *Foix* and *Albert*.

The king T. C. *Henry* IV. in recommending the affair of marſhal *de Biron*, who was ſon of one *Bonneval*, to the parliament of *Pau*, in *Navarre*, or *Bearn*, writes to the ſaid parliament in theſe terms: *Gentlemen*, &c. *I recommend to you the affairs that my couſin, the marſhal* de Biron, *has before you, and I recommend them to you, with much more*

more fervency, as he is my near kinſman, by the houſe of Bonneval. *Signed* HENRY.

The duke *de Biron*, preſent father-in-law of the count *Bonneval*, has the original letter of that great king, and in that monarch's own hand-writing.

II.

The count *Bonneval* being born a ſubject of the royal houſe of *France*, cannot diſpenſe with ſilencing the calumnies that are ſpread againſt the princes thereof; and eſpecially when the honour of a lady of ſuch high rank, as the daughter of a duke of *Orleans*, and a queen of *Spain* is concerned.

III.

The count *Bonneval* having been conſtrained to quit his country, and to bear arms againſt her, which had made him condemned by outlawry, to loſe his eſtate, and his head, his royal highneſs the duke of *Orleans* cauſed him to be reſtored to all his eſtates, honours, and prerogatives in the year 1718, in the moſt diſtinguiſhing and obliging manner.

IV.

The duke of *Orleans* has ſettled the duchy of *Biron*, in the houſe, and on the perſon of the duke *de Biron*, father-in-law of count *Bonneval*, which was extinct, ſince the death of the marſhal and duke *Biron*, admiral of *France*, who was beheaded under king *Henry* IV.

V.

M. *de Biron*, before that he was re-eſtabliſhed in the dukedom of his anceſtors, was firſt equerry to his late royal highneſs the duke of *Orleans*, a poſt which is actually poſſeſſed at preſent under the duke of *Orleans*, by the chevalier *de Biron*, of the order

order of *St. John*, and brother-in-law to the count *Bonneval*.

VI.

The ducheſs dowager of *Orleans*, reſpects the counteſs *Bonneval*, wife of the ſaid count, as tho' ſhe was her daughter, honours her with her patronage, and daily heaps favours upon her; and both the houſes of *Bonneval* and *Biron*, are ſtrongly attached to the royal houſe of *Orleans*.

VII.

In the laſt war in *Italy*, 1719, the count *Bonneval* was commanded into *Sardinia*, and afterwards into *Sicily*. The count *de Mercy*, who was in *Sicily*, let him know at *Milan*, that he could not obtain any ammunition from *Naples*, or elſewhere, without which, nevertheleſs, he could not carry on the war, and that therefore he found himſelf very much embarraſſed.

The count *Bonneval* judged that the beſt reſolution he could take therein, was to addreſs himſelf to *France*, inſomuch that reckoning upon the goodneſs and friendſhip, that the late duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*, had always teſtified for him, even at the time when he was only duke of *Chartres*, he thought he had credit enough to obtain in his own name, all that they might have need of.

He then ordered the count *de la Tour* to ſet out for *Paris*, at the end of the month of *Auguſt*, who was with him at *Milan*, and then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, of which he now is actually colonel, and whoſe certificate or atteſtation is hereunto annexed.

He was perfectly well received by the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*, who ſent forthwith to count *Bonneval*, all that he had aſked for, *viz.* twelve cannons, ten mortars, fifty-four thouſand bullets, three

three thouſand barrels of powder, three thouſand bombs, *&c.* and four engineers; he likewiſe ordered the ſieur *de Chavigny*, envoy from *France* to *Genoa*, to ſend him what money he ſhould require, and made the arſenals of *Provence* furniſh him with all that he ſhould order. Of which he forthwith gave an account to his imperial and catholic majeſty's laudable councils of war, by his letters from *Genoa* and *Meſſina*; but nobody requiring him to continue the ſolliciting of the ſubſidy, not even the count *de Neſſelerod*, to whom he ſpoke of it, who was the general caſhier of *Italy*, he thought they had found a better way than this to be paid it. It is true, his moſt ſerene highneſs prince *Eugene*, wrote him word at *Meſſina*, in the month of *December*, that his imperial and catholic majeſty would honour him with a letter, by which he would teſtify how well pleaſed he was with his ſervices on this otcaſion; but he never received this favour.

As to the reſt, cardinal *Dubois*, then abbé, and exerciſing the function of prime miniſter, wrote to count *Bonneval*, by the regent's order, that it was to him, that his royal highneſs ſent all this, and to no body elſe, not being obliged thereto by treaties. This letter is depoſited in the chancellary of *Milan*. He even aſſured him, that he need only aſk, and that his royal highneſs, who loved his perſon, and intereſted himſelf in his glory, would not let him want for any thing, that ſhould be in his power, for the expedition he was engaged in.

This letter was followed by many others from the abbé *Dubois*, on the part of the regent, all as obliging, and in the ſame ſtile. When the duke *de Biron* wrote at that time to count *Bonneval*, he confirmed the ſame kindneſſes of his royal-highneſs, doing him always a thouſand favours by order

der of that great prince; which he always continued until his death.

VIII.

In the law-ſuit which the count *Bonneval* has had with his brother, and which ſtill ſubſiſts, the houſe of *Orleans* is always intereſting itſelf for him, and actually continues the ſame favours to him.

There would be no end, if all the obligations which the count *Bonneval* has had from his infancy to the houſe of *Orleans*, were to be particularly related. But it is believed, that all that is above declared will ſuffice to make known, that he ought in honour and conſcience to defend her majeſty the queen of *Spain*, daughter of the duke and ducheſs of *Orleans*, from the injurious and romantic calumnies that were ſpread againſt the glory and virtue of this great princeſs, and that it will be approved of by all gentlemen.'

The count *de la Tour*, ſupported the ſeventh article of this declaration, by a certificate in full form.

'I the underwritten, atteſt, that being diſpatched, in the month of *Auguſt*, in the year 1719, from *Milan* to *Paris*, by the counts *de Colleredo* and *Bonneval*, for to expedite, at the court of *France*, the ſubſidies granted to his imperial and catholic majeſty, by virtue of the quadruple alliance; I had moreover a commiſſion to ſollicit for ſome cannon, ammunition, engineers, *&c.* being charged for that effect with letters from the count *Bonneval*, to his royal highneſs the regent of *France*, and to the abbé *Dubois*. I was preſented to his royal highneſs by the preſent duke *de Biron*, who ſeconded me in my buſineſs with all the ardour poſſible, and I was perfectly well received by the prince, who aſſured me, he would do any thing in the world to contribute to the glory and fortune of the count *Bonneval*.

This

This encouraged me to demand of his royal highneſs upon the ſpot, three months ſubſidy inſtead of two, which my inſtructions mentioned, which was granted me forthwith. From thence I was ſent to the abbé *Dubois*, who made me the ſame compliment as his royal highneſs had done upon the ſubject of count *Bonneval*'s fortune, and it was ordered, that the bills of exchange ſhould be paid to the orders of count *Bonneval*, by M. *de Chavigny*, whom I haſtened very much for that purpoſe, ſaying that it was in my inſtructions to ſollicit the ſpeedy departure of that envoy to facilitate the receipt of the ſums of money. And it is to be obſerved, all my buſineſs with his royal highneſs, and the abbé *Dubois*, was ended in three days, they ſhewed ſo much readineſs to compleat the inſtructions that I had. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand. *Done at* Anvers *the* 25th *of September*, 1724. *Signed* de la Tour, *colonel.*

I diſperſed every where copies of all that I had written to *Vienna.*

I wrote to the plenipotentaries of *Spain* at *Cambray.*

Gentlemen,

'YOUR excellencies partly know what has paſſed between the marquis *de Prié* and me, on the ſubject of the calumnies invented in his houſe againſt the honour of the queen of *Spain*; I ſhall take the liberty to inform you of what you might be ignorant of thereupon, ſeeing that in the buſineſs in hand, ours is a common intereſt.

The great clamours of this miniſter in the councils of ſtate, aſſembled againſt me at *Bruſſels*, with as much irregularity as preſumption; his correſpondencies in foreign countries, in which he treats me as *an impoſtor, as a man without faith or religion*;

ligion; the diſcourſes which he has held, and which he yet holds publickly, give me a right to defend myſelf, at leaſt againſt the aſperſions which he has the audacity to heap one upon another, to conceal his fears and terrors from the public.

The character, with which he is inveſted, made me forbear him, until now; but as he has exceeded his powers, I am neceſſitated to declare the truth before all *Europe*, whoſe good opinions he would anticipate.

I ſhall do it then, Gentlemen, without declamation, and without intermixing injuries therewith; ſuch proceedings being only peculiar to people of low birth, who cannot rid themſelves of the ill habits of their education, in whatſoever rank fortune raiſes them; being like in this, to the cat in the fable metamorphoſed into a woman, who quitted her huſband's bed to run after the rats and mice.

People of my birth have three maſters: God, their honour, and their ſovereign. Your excellencies know, as well as I, that we owe nothing to this laſt, that may offend the two former. My honour, that has not, and which ought not to have, any other defender than myſelf, commands me, at this day, to declare the truth to you. I believe I cannot do it better than by ſending to your excellencies a very compleat and exact copy of all that I have laid at the foot of my auguſt maſter the emperor's throne, and before his ſupreme aulic council of war. This will be all my defence againſt the injuries of the marquis *de Prié*; ſince there are none of the ſubjects or officers of that great monarch, who dare approach ſo juſt and formidable a tribunal as his, with falſehood on their lips, or in their writings.

Your excellencies will perceive, that all what I have the honour to aſk of the emperor, is plain and juſt. It conſiſts of a very reaſonable requeſt; which

which is, that he will please to grant me commissioners, invested with sufficient authority; to the end, that the marquis *de Prié*, and those of his house, who have had the insolence to slander her majesty, the queen of *Spain*, may be constrained to acknowledge them for judges in this affair: and that this minister, deprived of that power, which he has abused, give liberty by this means to witnesses, whom I shall name to his imperial and catholic majesty, to depose without fear, what they shall have heard spoken in the house of that minister, against her majesty the queen of *Spain*, and to declare the persons that were present with them at these calumnies, that they may in their turn be examined, each at their court of judicature; a request that I hope will be approved of by your excellencies, since by the outrages that I have endured from that minister, he has a mind to make known to the witnesses, whom I cite, what severe usage they must expect, and to what degree he will carry his revenge against them, in case that any one should have the boldness to evidence against him, or against any other of his family.

This request, which I make to my august master the emperor, is so just, that I am persuaded I shall obtain it, from his clemency alone. But as I believe it is far from the dignity of the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, to leave so honourable a cause in the hands of such a weak private person as myself, I do not doubt but that your excellencies, and the ministers of *France*, will forward the raising me to this glory, and that they will receive particular orders, to act in such a manner, that the titles of *impostor*, *of a man without faith or religion*, may fall upon those that have improperly made use of them against me, for having defended the virtue of your great queen, sprung from an august family that I always revered, to which I have the honour

to be related, by the houſes of *Foix* and *Albert*, whereof I was born a vaſſal, and a ſubject, and to whom my anceſtors owed their all.

To all this they would in vain oppoſe the misfortunes of my life, which have led me ſword in hand with the imperial forces into the country of the king my antient maſter of glorious memory. But the generous refuge which the auguſt houſe of *Auſtria* granted me, in theſe ſame misfortunes, and the poſts that ſhe has done me the honour to truſt me with almoſt at the ſame time, enjoin me to ſerve her with the greateſt zeal and fidelity; a man of my birth and education being incapable of acting contrary to his glory and duty on any occaſion. But they ought alſo at the ſame time to be fully perſuaded, that I ſhall always draw the ſame ſword, when it concerns me, to defend the honour and perſons of the princes and princeſſes of the royal blood of *France*, with whom I never made war.

In this conjuncture, gentlemen, my vanity is arrived at the higheſt pitch, and my fortitude encreaſes, proportionably to my ſufferings, by the audacious abuſes of the marquis *de Prié*. I am too happy, that the reparations due to her majeſty the queen, are owing to me; and I am ready to ſuffer yet a thouſand times more, for ſo fair and ſo glorious a cauſe. It is true, that as for private matters, which have paſſed between *Prié* and me in this affair, if, when it is finiſhed, he remains ſtill worthy of my anger, I ſhall know well how to puniſh him myſelf for his inſolencies; which your excellencies will ſee I have openly declared to our ſupreme council of war.

I ſend to your excellencies my two diſpatches to the court of *Vienna*, of the 30th of *Auguſt*, and of the 8th of *September*, that they may evince and make known the truth to the whole world, which

is,

is, that I have done nothing, but what is juſt, nor ſaid any thing but what is true; which will be the better perceived, after my proofs are eſtabliſhed by the teſtimonies of men of the moſt honour, and of the beſt quality in the Low-Countries. Shall I ſtop here, gentlemen? for it is not fitting for ſuch a mean ſubject as I am to proceed further: the ſatisfactions that are due to the queen, being a work for the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, with which their miniſters ought to be charged.

As to the reſt, fear not, gentlemen, out of any regard to me, to diſpoſe as your excellencies pleaſe of this letter and papers, that I take the liberty to ſend you. For when the honour of a man of my rank in the army is attacked, he acknowledges none above him but God, until he has overthrown thoſe audacious and raſh men, who have dared to attempt the diſhonouring him in ſuch a ſenſible manner.

Thus, your excellencies will oblige me, by publiſhing this letter, and all that I ſend to you, to all the miniſters that are at *Cambray*, and even by printing the whole, if you think proper, ſeeing that this matter is not a ſtate-affair, as *Prié* has ſpread abroad, but a private quarrel between us, and that by his impertinencies, he has given me a right to neglect the character with which he is inveſted. But I have the ſenſe to diſtinguiſh the *relicks* from the *aſs* that carries them. I am, with the utmoſt reſpect, *&c. Signed*, *M.* Bonneval. *At the caſtle of* Anvers, *the* 12*th of* September, 1724.

The laſt words of my letter will make any one think of the fable, which I place here only to have occaſion to declare that it is none of mine.

The FABLE *of the* ASS *carrying* RELICKS.

A church falling to ruin, the prieſts reſolved to tranſport the relicks upon an aſs, to the cathedral of a neighbouring city. Every where as they went along the people fell on their knees. The proud aſs took to himſelf all the reſpect, that was paid to the relicks. He raiſed his head, wagged his ears, beat his ſides with his tail, and arrived boldly at the door of the houſe, where he was disburdened of the holy load, and put in the ſtable. His pride hindered him from eating all night. In the morning he broke his halter, and ran about the city, thinking to ſee the people proſtrate themſelves before him. But he was very much aſtoniſhed, when inſtead of homage, as the evening before, he found himſelf brought back to his ſtable, with the ſtrokes of a cudgel.

Here the relicks repreſent the poſts that princes beſtow; and the aſs is the marquis de Prié, *and ſuch like, who being come of the dregs of the people, think that all the homage they receive is paid to their perſons; ſo much are inconſiderable men ſuſceptible of fooliſh vanity.*

This letter was followed by another to the emperor's plenipotentiaries at *Cambray*, which accompanied the particular ſending of my defence, which they deſired me to let them have. I only relate it to ſhew how I maintained my rank.

Gentlemen,

'AS I was fully perſuaded, that the libels of the marquis *de Prié*, were incapable of making an impreſſion on the minds of your excellencies, I did not think it was neceſſary to apply to them the ſame remedies, which I have diſtributed to perſons, to whom I was leſs known, than I have the honour to be to your excellencies.

But

But as you judge, that it was my duty to impart to you the ſame things, I do it the more willingly, that having the honour to have been for a long time the friend and ſervant of both your excellencies, I ſhall be very well ſatisfied that you have a perfect knowledge of all my proceedings in an affair, which through the imprudence of the marquis *de Prié* may make ſome noiſe all over *Europe*, to the end that you may judge thereof.

Another reaſon yet ſtronger than the former, made me think, I ought to impart no more of this affair to your excellencies, and that you did not care to know of it, was, that having made his excellency marſhal count *de Windiſgratz* acquainted with the beginning of it, he has not honoured me with an anſwer, altho' I intreated him to communicate my letter, and the included papers to his excellency the baron *de Pentenrieder:* but as the baron *d'Uvari*, captain in my regiment, only told me to-day, by word of mouth, what your excellencies deſired of me, I do it very willingly. For your excellencies muſt know, that I commonly break off all commerce with mutes, and with thoſe who do not anſwer my letters, let them be of whatever rank they will. You will find nevertheleſs in this packet two expreſſes to *Vienna*, viz. that of *Auguſt* 30, and that of *September* 8; and I dare flatter myſelf, that you will honour me with an anſwer to my preſent letter.

The titles which the marquis *de Prié* gives me, in the letters which he has wrote to his excellency the baron of *Pentenrieder*, and to M. *Fonſeca*, to communicate to the miniſters at *Cambray* and *Paris*, and which he has alſo communicated to the marquis *de Roiſſi*, the *French* miniſter at *Bruſſels*; theſe titles, I ſay are the chief end of my ſecond diſpatch. For they muſt either fall on the marquis *de*

Prié, or me, according to the laudable cuſtoms of *Germany*.

Thus, gentlemen, your excellencies will have the goodneſs to permit, and approve of my taking the liberty to challenge them at the ſame time, and to preſerve the ſaid letters, which the marquis *de Prié* has wrote to them, whatever intreaties he may make to get them again. And I hope alſo from your juſtice, that if you have communicated them to any of the foreign miniſters, as the ſaid marquis has deſired, that you will make no difficulty of letting me have an authentic and collated copy. This favour, which I have the honour to demand of you, being only, if you have made the publication to the ſaid miniſters, that you may equally make the ſame thereof to me, to empower me to defend myſelf, ſince otherwiſe this would be giving me a ſtab behind, which the *Germans* never do, and which both your excellencies are incapable of doing. I have the honour to be, with the moſt ſincere affection, *&c.* *Signed*, *M.* Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, *September* 15, 1724.'

As *Fonſeca* had ſhewn the marquis *de Prié*'s defamatory letter to the count *de Morville*, I thought alſo that I ought to write to him.

LETTER *to the count* de Morville, *ſecretary of ſtate to* France, *for foreign affairs.*

S I R,

'I Underſtand that M. *de Fonſeca*, his imperial and catholic majeſty's miniſter, had been charged by order of the marquis *de Prié*, to ſhew your excellency a letter of this miniſter's.

The injurious terms with which it is filled, oblige me moſt humbly to beſeech your excellency to ſuſpend your judgment upon the whole of this affair, until that his imperial and catholic majeſty has decided

cided it, and that I can convince your excellency that I have not invented the infamies againſt the queen of *Spain*, as the ſaid marquis has laid to my charge, for to tax them afterwards upon his family, but that they have been really ſpread by thoſe whom I have named. As for the reſt, Sir, as the emperor, my auguſt maſter, keeps this cauſe at his own judgment-ſeat, and as he is a prince of perfect equity, I hope that in a little time you will know the true authors of this abominable calumny, and as this monarch is not leſs polite and genteel, than great and juſt in all that he does, your excellency may aſſure the court, that it will not be neceſſary for it to enter into any engagements, on account of ſatisfactions that may be demanded in the name of *France* and *Spain*, ſeeing that the emperor's heart is ſo noble, that it is ſufficient for him to know the guilty to puniſh them as they deſerve, without your concerning yourſelf with it.

I do not ſend to your excellency my letters to *Vienna*, ſince you will receive them by the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Cambray*, and that I muſt alſo remit them to the marquis *de Roiſſi* at *Bruſſels*, when my buſineſs gives me time to write them fair: beſeeching you, as to the reſt, Sir, to give no credit to what M. *Fonſeca*, may ſay to you, on my proceedings with his patron; alſo I do not aſk you to believe me, but to have the goodneſs to wait the deciſion of his imperial and catholic majeſty, which muſt manifeſt to all *Europe*, whether the marquis *de Prié*, or I, is *the impoſtor, the man without religion or faith, who retracts himſelf, and invents infamies*, &c. I am, *&c. Signed, the count* Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 12, 1724.'

I ſet myſelf to juſtify thoſe ſteps; which I did by two letters which I wrote, or ſuppoſed to have

wrote, to two friends, the one at *Vienna*, the other at *Bruſſels*.

LETTER *from the count* Bonneval, *to his friend at* Bruſſels.

SIR,

'I Received the letter which you honoured me with of the 15th, with the copy of your letter to count *de W*———, the accuſation of the reception of the packet, ſent by M. *Durand*, and many very judicious reflections, on the ſtep that I have taken by ſending to *Cambray*, and you know where, the diſpatches to *Vienna*. I ſhall anſwer,

1. That this affair is private and particular between the marquis *de Prié* and me.

2. That, as my honour was in danger, it was impoſſible for me to ſuffer the calumnies of the marquis *de Prié* to take root, which I could not better prevent than by publiſhing my letters to his imperial majeſty: wherewith you will ſee that I myſelf acquainted the emperor, before-hand, in my letter of the 8th of *September*, of my intention to do it, judging it indiſpenſable for the defence of my reputation.

3. That it was fitting, that the miniſters of *France* and *Spain* ſhould know the truth of what had paſſed, ſince the marquis *de Prié* had given orders to ſlander me to them, and that as ſuch a man as myſelf is not capable of ſending juſtifications to any foreign miniſter by ſtealth, I ought to do it publickly, and with the confidence and boldneſs of a ſoldier, who has an upright heart, and who fears nothing from events.

4. That having a quarrel with *Prié*, before I am ruined by it, which he has attempted, by his calumnies, at *Paris* and *Cambray*, that is to ſay, over *Europe*, I muſt think of the main affair, which

which is, to conquer; that the means and meaſures which I have taken, conducting me quite right thereto, it does not matter whether this be done according to the method and rules of courts, ſince a man of courage willingly hazards a ſmall mortification from his maſter, to arrive at a greater good; which is the chief object, that he muſt never loſe ſight of, and which he ought to follow without any regard to the neareſt ways, provided they be thoſe of good men, tho' therein he might tumble his peruke, tear his clothes, loſe his hat, and the heels of his ſhoes in leaping the ditches. This tells you all; but learn from your ſervant, that there are caſes, wherein rules muſt be abandoned to ſucceed againſt calumniators.

As you ſee, my dear count, I was not born very timorous; but you will find nothing that is not true, and like a gentleman, in all that I have communicated to you.

As for the reſt, if you attentively read my letters to his majeſty, you will find, that they mention the ſteps that I have taken, with all the freedom of a ſoldier who fears nothing, not even his maſter, when it goes againſt his honour, which I never engaged, nor will engage as long as I live to any king on earth. As to the reſt, the ſtep is taken. I would do it yet if it was not done. It conducts me very ſtrait to my end, I laugh at all beſides.

Audaces fortuna juvat, timidoſque repellit.

A thouſand tender compliments to dear count *de Lannoy*, to the prince *de Rubempêre*, and to all my friends. My reſpect to madam. My heart is chearful and content; tho' I have made a reſolution to ſee nobody here of this country, except however, my ſovereign lord, the marquis *de Rubbi*. I am, *&c.* *Signed M.* Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 16, 1724.

A letter of the count Bonneval *to one of his friends, a minister at* Vienna.

SIR,

'HAving learnt from the prince, that he had the honour to give your excellency an account of what he knew of my affair with the marquis *de Prié*; I doubt that the letters of this minister, and all the infamous libels that he has spread against my honour at the court of *France* and at *Cambray*, may be all come to your knowledge, so that you will want no new account thereof. It has been upon this point, that my relations and all the house of *Orleans*, look upon my silence as a confession, of what this man, the most impudent lyar upon earth, has published against me: they have wrote to me from all parts, as well as the *French* ministers at *Cambray*, to let me know what passed against my reputation, and to advise me to clear up the truth, and that there was no time to lose; for when his calumnies were suffered to take root, if they should be healed, there would always, however, be the scar of them remaining.

I have studied for the shortest means to undeceive the public. But at last nothing appeared to me to be more proper than to send to all the plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain* at *Cambray*, the same things that I have had the honour to represent at the foot of his imperial and catholic majesty's throne, and to his supreme council of war, with all the relations and justifications exactly copied.

The only two persons to whom I have not sent them, are the count *de Windisgratz* and the baron *de Pentenrieder*, ministers of our august master, by reason that the first is too much *de Prié*'s enemy, and justly; and the second too much his friend. But I acquainted the count *de Windisgratz*, that if

he had the curioſity, he might find them in the hands of the *French* and *Spaniſh* miniſters, to whom I have been ſlandered.

Your excellency ſees, that it was the neceſſity of a juſt defence which has forced me to take this ſtep. But as *Prié*'s patrons might miſrepreſent this affair to our maſter, I have the honour to ſend you the letter which I wrote to the plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, wherein I urged the motives that obliged me to communicate all theſe papers to them. Upon which I moſt humbly beg of you to prepoſſeſs our auguſt maſter, and to make known to this great monarch, that an officer raiſed to the military rank, which has been conferred upon me by the goodneſs and clemency of his imperial and catholic majeſty, and who is of a diſtinguiſhed birth in ſuch a great kingdom as *France*, where he is allied to all the greateſt perſons, could not ſuffer the calumnies of the marquis *de Prié* to paſs quietly againſt him, without offence to his imperial and catholic majeſty himſelf, who has honoured him with conſiderable poſts in his armies, and without being wanting in the natural defence that all the laws permit; life being nothing in compariſon of honour.

Your excellency, if you judge proper, may ſhew my letter to the plenipotentiaries from *Spain* to his imperial and catholic majeſty, our auguſt maſter, that he may be acquainted before-hand with my having done nothing in this, but what is very juſt and very reaſonable. I add the fable quite at length, that you may underſtand what I mean, at the end of my letters to the *Spaniards*, by the *Relicks* and the *Aſs* that carries them. I am, *&c. Signed, M.* Bonneval, *at the caſtle of* Anvers, September 14, 1724.'

It was thus that I ſpent all the month of *September* in juſtifying myſelf: *Prié* paſſed it in ſlandering me.

me. He began on the 21ſt of *Auguſt* to lay informations againſt me: he continued them with the more liberty when I was at *Anvers*: I had a copy of them; there was not enough therein to fill a page.

According to theſe informations I had quarrels every where, and I could not agree with any body.

Within ſix or ſeven months that I was at *Bruſſels*, I had hardly been five or ſix times at church; fleſh was eaten at my houſe on forbidden days, and religion was evil ſpoken of there.

I had affected an extraordinary popularity; I was attached to the nobility and citizens; I had heard their complaints, and had approved and ſupported them.

Under pretence of my law-ſuit, I had given large informations to *France*, and my heart was yet entirely *French*.

I had diſparaged the ſub-governor and his family, and affected to draw thoſe to myſelf that did not love him.

The citizens had taken up arms, and aſſembled to defend me; when I departed they had followed me in crowds, and many had offered me large purſes filled with gold.

The ſatires that had been diſperſed, and the libels that had been poſted up againſt the ſub-governor and government, were of my making.

I had ſaid, that if they did not do me juſtice, I knew well how to make them do it: that at *Vienna* every thing was done by money; that the chief miniſters were the moſt covetous; and that the emperor did nothing of himſelf.

I had ſollicited the foreign powers to enter into my affair; that I had carried it to the congreſs of *Cambray*; and that it was not my fault that I had

not

not incenſed *France* and *Spain*, even to the breaking off the negotiations.

That I had boaſted that I ſhould deſtroy the ſub-governor, in ſpite of his great patron the prince, and of his great patroneſs.

The information ſaid, that each article was certified by irreprovable witneſſes.——I added notes to it in the margin, as follows:

The count *Bonneval* has been beloved whereever he has been, and he can boaſt that he never had any but diſhoneſt men for his enemies.

He has had the gout ever ſince he has been in this country. He has eaten fleſh, but fiſh was ſerved on the appointed days for thoſe that were at his table.

He has lived at *Bruſſels* like as elſewhere. He always loved company, and knew how to draw it to him by his good behaviour and good houſekeeping, as he never thought of hoarding. He confeſſes neverthleſs, that the general crying-down of his party, which is herein, has contributed to that great friendſhip which they have teſtified to him.

He only ſent to *France* ſuch accounts as were neceſſary and relative to his affairs. He is able to prove that it was no fault of his, that he did not return thither with honour. He is a *Frenchman*, and ſhall always do himſelf the honour to continue one.

He has no occaſion to decry the ſub-governor, he has too much regard for his auguſt maſter's honour, who only employs him becauſe he does not know him. The count *Bonneval* would hardly have ſeen any body, if he excluded all thoſe from his company who hated the ſub-governor.

He is ignorant of the citizens having taken up arms: but he knows perfectly, that they were only withheld by him, from taking them. The reſt of the

the article is true: if *Prié* had been in the ſame caſe, every one would have demanded of him what he had taken from them, inſtead of offering him their purſes.

He ſpoke of *Prié* when he ſaid he knew how to do himſelf juſtice; and it is his intention to puniſh him for the calumnies that he has charged him with. Perhaps he may have ſpoken, as well as many others, of what paſſed at *Vienna*; but he never mentioned the emperor in theſe diſcourſes, unleſs it was to ſpeak well of him, altho' he could wiſh that his imperial majeſty limited his confidence a little, with regard to ſome of thoſe that approached him.

He would not have made his affair publick, if he had not been ſlandered in foreign courts, and in particular at the congreſs of *Cambray*. His honour, which, next to God, is his chief guide, obliged him to it.

The laſt article is worthy of the mean ſoul that invented it. The count *Bonneval* has been prince *Eugene*'s friend, and ſhould be ſtill, if he had loved his glory leſs. He is perſuaded that this prince knows him too well, to think that he was capable of expreſſing himſelf in ſuch a manner.

I ſent this information to *Vienna* with theſe notes in the margin, and made it as publick as all my other writings. However, my impriſonment continued, and I only received uncertain and equivocal anſwers. I knew by a thouſand tokens, that the artifices and illuſions of my enemies would get the upper hand; excepting a ſmall number of my friends, that continued to declare openly for me, the reſt, by degrees withdrew themſelves, and at laſt abandoned me. The new agent to my regiment, that I had nominated in the room of him whoſe letter had diſguſted me, was not admitted, under pretence, that as I was a priſoner, it was not

not fitting that I ſhould make ſuch diſpoſals: even my priſon contracted inſenſibly, and ſeveral of thoſe who would have viſited me were ſent away. I knew plainly that they were a little embarraſſed upon what *de Prié*'s wife and daughter had ſaid, or had not ſaid, againſt the honour of the queen of *Spain*; and that they reflected very much upon the want of reſpect, which they pretended that I had had for the emperor's repreſentative: that they looked upon it as a heinous offence, that I had ſaid that I excepted nobody, not even of the family of the ſub-governor of the *Auſtrian* Low-Countries, after having declared that the men who had ſpoken, as was reported to me, were rogues and villains, and the women whores and jades, who deſerved to have their gown-tails cut off: that they thought the ſame of the note which I had ſpread abroad, to give the lye to thoſe who had ſaid, that half my regiment was gone to *France*; that it was viſible I had threatened *de Prié*, whoſe father never was a gentleman, to cudgel him. A heap of people that were in the eſteem of this new marquis, cried out on all ſides, that nobody would be ſecure from my violence, if a plenipotentiary of his imperial majeſty was not. *France* and *Spain* did as my father-in-law and wife had ſent me word they would do; that is to ſay, that they would abandon me.

This ill turn in my affairs did not deprive me of courage; I continued to write to the emperor and to the ſupreme council of war, and I did it always in the ſame ſtrain, that is to ſay, in demanding juſtice, and in ſpeaking of *de Prié*, as of a man with whom it was an extreme abaſement for me to make it up. I ſhall only relate the two laſt of theſe letters, which put an end to my impriſonment at *Anvers* about the end of *October*, and occaſioned my being ordered to go to *Vienna*.

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LETTER *to the* EMPEROR.

SIRE,

I Was not born a ſubject of your majeſty, it was freely I became ſo; I have no room to repent of it: I do not believe alſo that your majeſty may be ſorry, that your auguſt father the emperor *Leopold* received me into his ſervice in a diſtinguiſhed manner. My blood has flowed more than once for the proſperity of your arms, and it is a chance that I have eſcaped ſo many dangers into which I have been hurried for your glory. I ſhould die with grief and ſhame if I knew any one more devoted than myſelf to the intereſts of your ſacred perſon and your auguſt houſe. It is impoſſible for your majeſty to be ignorant how I beſtirred myſelf to prevent this fatal peace, which has loſt you the fruits of your conqueſts and of our labours. My efforts have been in vain, but they have not been leſs ardent or ſincere: I have been recompenſed for them; your majeſty took them kindly of me, and this has pleaſed me more than the poſts that you have had the goodneſs to truſt me with. But, Sire, to what do all the favours and diſtinctions ſerve, but to mortify my fall, and complete my diſgrace, if I ſink in this affair, in which the inſolence of the diſcourſes that have been held of a queen, to whom I have the honour to be allied, has engaged me? I moſt reſpectfully beſeech your majeſty to conſider the difference that there is between *Prié* and me. You have made him all that he is, and without the employments, with which he is inveſted, what would he be? You have alſo made me what I am, ſince I have embraced your ſervice; but you have given me neither my name nor my titles; theſe I have held from my birth. Moreover, Sire, I am a ſoldier, free, true, and equally incapable

pable of doing or ſuffering a cowardly action. I plead nothing but reaſon and juſtice; I uſe no ſhifts and ſubterfuges, falſhood and calumny are unknown to me; *Prié* has been concerned in intrigues all his life, he is cunning, ſubtle and diſſembling; he knows every biaſs that can be given to an affair; he is linked in friendſhip to many of thoſe who have the honour to approach your ſacred perſon; he is rich, I am not in a condition to make preſents: what will become of me, if your majeſty does not deign to employ part of your great wiſdom to pierce the obſcurities, and diſſipate the falſe lights, in which they will not fail to repreſent my behaviour? For the reſt, Sire, I refer to my petition; I ask no favour, I only deſire ſpeedy juſtice. I ſhall only add, that I have been a priſoner near two months, and that an hour's impriſonment to a man of my condition, is a very great puniſhment.'

LETTER *to the* COUNCIL OF WAR.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

YOUR excellencies will not take it ill that I repeat the complaints which I have already made to you. My impriſonment is contrary to all rules: I look upon it as the effect of the violence and ignorance of the military laws of him who put me there. Perſuaded of your equity and of your zeal, to maintain your rights and mine, I thought that it would have ceaſed as ſoon as you ſhould have been informed of it: I am ſorry I am deceived; ſince it continues, I cannot but regard it as your work, and as a token that my enemy is ſtrongly upheld. This does not hinder me from repeating to your excellencies, that I demand ſtrict and exact juſtice from you, making it a duty not to doubt, but the equity and honourable ſentiments with which I be-

lieve you all to be filled, will prevail over inclination and prejudice.'

In anſwer to theſe letters I received this order.

By order of his ſacred, imPerial, and catholic Majeſty.

'IT is commanded that count *Bonneval*, general of foot and of the artillery, do appear before his ſaid majeſty, to give an account of his behaviour, under prohibition of paſſing thro' any city in the Low-Countries.'

At the ſame time I received a note dated at *Vienna* in a counterfeited hand, in theſe terms: *You are a loſt man, my dear count, almoſt all the council are won over. You are not ignorant that the head will follow the majority. The incident is become the principal of the affair; the grounds of it will not be even ſpoken of, which they only jeer at here. You will be a victim to your generoſity, and perhaps to the enemies that your merit has made you: You are to look to it, whether you will lay yourſelf at their mercy. If you knew the hand that traced theſe lines, you would not doubt a moment of the truth of this advice, and of the ſhare they take in what concerns your life, your liberty, and your honour.* This note was from the counteſs of ——'s waiting maid. This girl, as I before related, ſaved my life. It has been but ſince I came into *Turkey*, where ſhe came to me, that I knew that I had this ſecond obligation to her.

This note and many other circumſtances diſquieted me: I deliberated ſome days upon what part I ſhould take. I kept no ſecrets from the marquis *de Rubbi*; I communicated to him all the reaſons that weighed with me: He would give me no council,

council, and desired me not to let him know my resolution; he only warned me to beware of the *Italian Stiletto*, and gave me some dragoons under my command, to escort me on whatsoever road I should take. My pecuniary affairs were extremely out of order: almost all the money that I had, when my arrest was notified to me, I sent to *Cecilia*, which was my *English* woman's name; to which I added some jewels, and part of my plate. I told her to think no more of me, at least till my process was ended one way or other; and that she should not go from *Brussels* till I ordered her. I sold the rest of my plate and equipage: the best part was spent: that which remained, and my salary that was paid me, amounted to about two thousand guineas. I made the dragoons conduct me to *Mardyke*: I arrived at the *Hague* towards the end of *October*, and staid there till the twentieth of *November*, when I set out for *Vienna*, against the advice of my friends, except the count *de Tarrouca*, who persuaded me to that dangerous step: what could I do otherwise? all *Europe* was at peace; and I should not have been employed in any service. The bottom of my affair appeared to me so just, as it really was, that I could not imagine that the emperor and his council could take any violent resolutions against me. I heard from all sides that *Prié* triumphed on my journey to *Holland*, and publickly declared, that I durst not stand the trial that I had demanded with such eagerness.

Before my departure I wrote to the emperor. I told him in substance, that I had received the order that he was pleased to send me with respect. That the time of my arrival not having been fixed for me, I thought I might make a tour into *Holland*. That tho' it was very hard for me to see myself treated more rigorously than my adversary, nothing should hinder me from paying to his maj sty

the obedience that I owed him, and from trusting to his equity and that of his councils. I performed my journey quietly; it scarcely entered my thoughts, *that my tour to the* Hague *would be looked upon as criminal*: I was soon undeceived; for at about four or five leagues distance from *Vienna*, I had orders to go prisoner to the castle of *Spilberg* in *Moravia*. They left me only one or two of my servants, and I was kept very close and very strictly guarded. I was a month without hearing any thing. In the month of *January* 1725, I was examined by three imperial commissioners. The examination turned upon the publick declaration that I had made on the foregoing 17th of *August*, on account of the discourse that I pretended had been held by the marchioness *de Prié* and the countess *d'Apremont* her daughter. They talked to me about the refusal that I had made, to receive the attachments that were ordered me by the governor of *Brussels*; and of my slowness in obeying the orders to remove myself to the castle of *Anvers*. Above all, they questioned me very much upon my journey to *Holland*: they represented to me the emperor's order, wherein it was specified, that I should go to *Vienna* the nearest way. I comprehended by this examination, that they would not enter upon the discourse of *de Prié*'s wife and his daughter, nor upon the letters that he had wrote against me, and wherein he had treated me as a slanderer, as a man without religion or faith. Thus I was the sole party in the cause. The heads of my accusation were, that I had offended the representative of his imperial majesty, that I had disobeyed him, and those that were invested with his authority. This horrible and diabolical turn that *de Prié*'s friends had given to our process, I confess astonished me; but it did not at all disconcert me. I made a *factum*; but my condemnation was so speedy that it could not be pre-

presented: nevertheless I transcribe it, as a proof of the partiality or precipitation of my judges, and of my innocence.

THE count Bonneval *represents to his imperial and catholic majesty and to the supreme aulic council of war, that he is all at once both the accuser and the accused. That, nevertheless, he is sole in the cause, altho' the accusations which he has laid against his adversary, are without comparison more grievous than those with which he is charged. He could not imagine that such a venerable court of judicature, on which the eyes of all* Europe *are fixed, could give attention only to the accusations entered by one party, and absolutely neglect those that the other had produced.*

He is not afraid to say, that this manner of proceeding cannot be regular, and that it is at least contrary to the common rules of justice, that ought to hear all those that apply to her, and to declare that they are wrong or right. Two persons that mutually accuse each other, may both be culpable. Why then do they only stick to the prosecution of one alone? *Crispus* had injured *Cæsar*, *Cæsar* revenged himself by his private authority, and did it to excess: both demanded justice. By what right should *Cæsar* alone be heard; is not the same declaring, that the revenge which he had taken was just, and that *Crispus* only was guilty? Moreover, who shall prosecute *Cæsar* if *Crispus* sinks, and that by a capital or ignominious punishment he is put out of condition to demand and obtain justice.

It is reasonable then, and the practice of all courts of judicature is such, that they examine both parties, and decide thereupon. The count *Bonneval* dare ask, whether they have examined the complaints which he made against the marquis *de Prié*, and what judgment they have passed thereon? He rightly supposes that they have done neither, see-

ing that on this account they have not communicated to him any defence or anſwer of the ſaid marquis, to the end that he might make his obſervations and replies thereto; if his complaints were unworthy of attention, or notoriouſly unjuſt and ill-founded, they ought to have juridically declared it. But it is certain that ſuch declaration could not have been made if they had examined them; and he is almoſt in the right to think, that this examination was only omitted, becauſe they would have been obliged to have made a quite contrary declaration: Upon which he takes the liberty to ask, what privilege his adverſary has, that they diſcharge him of the accuſations articled againſt him, and ſtick only to thoſe which he had produced?

He proceeds to lay before the eyes of the ſupreme aulic council of war, the complaints which he has already exhibited, to the end that they may perceive that they were not unworthy of their attention.

The wife of the marquis *de Prié* and her daughter the counteſs *d'Apremont*, have held, even in the preſence of the ſaid marquis, inſolent converſations againſt the honour and reputation of the preſent queen of *Spain*; and they have not only held them, but gave them out for certain, adding thereunto their own reflections, as offenſive as the ſlanderous fable that they uttered.

Allied to the royal family of *France*, and having in particular the greateſt obligations to the houſe of *Orleans*; the count *Bonneval* thought that both his honour and duty obliged him to defend the honour of that great princeſs, which they ſo cruelly rend in pieces. He has publickly declared, that he held all thoſe for diſhoneſt people that talked in ſuch a manner; adding, that he did not except any body, tho' even they ſhould be of the ſub-governor of the Low-Country's family. He has informed

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the emperor of the calumny and the calumniators, he has made himſelf a party againſt them, and has demanded juſtice thereupon. He has proved the reality of the calumny; he has diſcovered the ſource of it, in a manner which he has a right to call inconteſtable, at leaſt, until they have examined and decided it.

Tho' even it ſhould be true, that he has explained himſelf too roughly, and that he ought to have been contented with not excepting any body without the marquis *de Prié*'s family; the wrong that he may have done, ſhould not prevent the juſtice of his complaints, and ſhould not diminiſh the enormous fault the wife and daughter of the ſaid marquis *de Prié* have committed by talking, as they have done at ſeveral times, and with exaſperation, of the queen of *Spain*. He conſents to be puniſhed, if they judge that he has deſerved it; but he cannot forbear demanding, that they do juſtice to his complaints, and that they puniſh thoſe who have given room for them. There is no dignity, except the ſovereign one, that ſhelters from theſe ſorts of purſuits, there is none that ought to exempt from puniſhment. Crowned heads are always venerable, and ought to take it kindly of thoſe who will not ſuffer them to be inſulted; all the ſovereigns themſelves are intereſted to maintain theſe maxims, and to pardon the exceſs that may be committed in following them. Would not they approve of a *German*, that in the *French* or *Spaniſh* ſervice, ſhould give the lye to thoſe who ſhould have the audacity to calumniate their imperial majeſties.

But there wants much of the count *Bonneval*'s caſe, allowing that he has committed any exceſs, the calumny was one of the moſt atrocious. It was public at *Bruſſels* that the marchioneſs *de Prié* and her daughter had diffuſed it. He was obliged then, in order to ſtop the courſe of it, to evince, that from

whatever part it came, it merited no belief. After all, what are the marchioneſs *de Prié* and her daughter, in compariſon of a princeſs of the blood of *France*, and a queen of *Spain?* After having treated this princeſs as they have done; is there an odious appellation which they do not deſerve? Moreover, the count *Bonneval* has not named them at all; intereſted as he was in this affair, it was all that they could expect of his politeneſs and moderation.

Conſequent to this firſt affair, the marquis *de Prié* has wrote to his imperial majeſty's miniſters at *Paris* and *Cambray*, that the count *Bonneval* was a man without religion or faith; that he had invented the calumnies that he had raiſed; and that ſome of thoſe he had cited for witneſſes were ready to give him the lye. Theſe letters are real, and the count *Bonneval* demands juſtice upon them. He is of a birth and rank not to be injured with impunity by any one whatſoever. It cannot be ſaid, that the ſaid marquis *de Prié* has wrote in this manner, in quality of repreſentative of his imperial majeſty: this quality, as venerable as it is, cannot juſtify ſuch exceſſes, nor withhold him from the puniſhment that he deſerves for having committed them; at leaſt he ought to be obliged either to prove or retract what he has advanced. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid marquis remains unmoleſted, he is continued in his employments, and every day receives new favours; inſtead of which, the count *Bonneval* is impriſoned like a criminal, and that far from having regard to his complaints, they have affected not to make the leaſt mention of them in his examination, wherein they only ſpoke to him of too little reſpect for the repreſentative of his imperial majeſty, and of the difficulty as well as the ſlowneſs which he ſhewed in obeying the orders that had been ſignified to him, as well on the part

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of the ſaid repreſentative, as on that of his imperial majeſty.

Sire, it is to theſe articles that his proceſs is reduced, which he never could have believed; he is going to endeavour to juſtify theſe difficulties and this ſlowneſs. When the marquis *de Prié* had cauſed the attachments to be notified to count *Bonneval*, it is evident that he made himſelf judge in his own cauſe. It is notorious, that in ſuch a caſe, other governors would have carried their complaints to the court of judicature, on which they themſelves depended, and that they would have waited for the orders thereof. The count *Bonneval* gave no attention to the precipitate violence that was uſed with regard to him; it was not the motive of his refuſal; he only refuſed becauſe the attachments were not ſerved upon him in the uſual courſe, which was not for the governor of *Bruſſels*, but for the marſhal count *de Veblen*, to intimate ſuch orders to him. He even cauſed the marquis *de Prié* to be told, that he would receive the attachments by his orders; and that he would not go out the reſt of the day, for to give him time to inſtruct himſelf in the forms which he did not underſtand. The ſaid count demanded to know in what he had offended, and if he ought not to repreſent, that they had violated the laws and cuſtoms, to which he had ſworn obſervance.

He was the ſame with regard to the order that he had received to go to the caſtle of *Anvers*. He only deferred to execute it, becauſe that it was not ſignified to him in the uſual method. He did not at all diſpute the marquis *de Prié*'s authority, but only the manner in which he exerciſed it. He thought it contrary to the military law. If he was miſtaken, could they make a crime of it? Much more, maugre all the reaſons which he thought he had for not obeying, he ſubmitted himſelf; and that

that the motive which had determined him to that ſubmiſſion ſhould make the faults forgotten, which might have been committed. He knew that the citizens, who were irritated againſt the marquis *de Prié*, only ſought an opportunity to ſhew their reſentments. Theſe citizens aſſembled about his houſe, which was inveſted by diverſe detachments. They delivered a note to him, which he has ſent to his imperial majeſty. As ſoon as he had read this note, he got into his coach and went through the city as faſt as poſſible. Are theſe the proceedings of a man that would flee from legal authority? Do not they imply on the contrary the utmoſt reſpect and devotion, incompatible with diſobedience and rebellion. He does not pretend, however, to make a merit of having refuſed the ſeditious offers that had been made to him, he only alledges this refuſal, to ſhew that he is a faithful ſubject, and that he ſhould have obeyed the orders of the marquis *de Prié* upon the ſpot, if he had not thought that he had grounds to conteſt the manner in which they were ſignified to him.

The councils, which the ſaid marquis aſſembled, thought as count *Bonneval* did; they judged that there was no room for an attachment, and that he muſt wait the ſupreme orders of his imperial majeſty; for which cauſe the marſhal count *de Veblen* refuſed to aſſiſt the will of the ſaid marquis, unleſs he ſignified it to him in writing. The others have been leſs ſcrupulous, and were not at all afraid of acting againſt the reſult of the councils. Theſe acts, conſiſtent with the proceſs, do not they prove at leaſt that the count *Bonneval* had ſome foundation, and ſuſpended his obedience on thoſe grounds, and for the form ſake, and that he was not particular in his ſentiments? According to what they built on, in examining him upon the journey that he took to *Holland*; the count *Bonneval* apprehends,

hends that this ſtep has been taken for a formal diſobedience to the orders iſſued from the imperial throne, and that this is the only or chief article of his proceſs.

To juſtify himſelf with regard to this, he will not mention his views and intentions; he knows that they are in the right to reject all the proteſtations that he could make of their ſimplicity and integrity. He limits himſelf to the ſhewing that he has obſerved the very letter of the orders that he received; and as his intentions cannot juſtify him; ſo the intentions which they might have had in intimating to him theſe orders, cannot accuſe him.

He was ordered to go to *Vienna* by the neareſt road, without paſſing thro' any town in the Low-Countries. He was not ordered to go thither inſtantly, or that it was from *Anvers* that he was to go thither; neither was the road, nor the time that he muſt take in going, preſcribed to him. Thus free in all theſe reſpects, he went to *Holland*. It is of very little ſignificancy to know why; it was upon buſineſs, for ſome inclination of heart, for to refreſh himſelf after ſeven weeks impriſonment that he had endured at *Anvers*. As ſoon as he had ſatisfied his fancy, he ſet out for *Vienna*; he took the neareſt road, and paſſed through no town in the Low-Countries.

Beſides the perfect liberty he was in to make this journey, one of the ſtrongeſt reaſons determined him to it. He was warned in more places than one to beware of the *Italian* ſtilleto. He was not ſtrong enough in caſh to travel according to his rank and quality. They had ordered him no eſcort; it was not requiſite for him to take one, as it would have ſeemed to all *Germany* as tho' he was led priſoner? He thought that he muſt take another courſe to avoid the *Italian* ſtilleto, and even in ſome ſort, ſuffer his reſolution to be ſuſpected: tho' even he ſhould

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not have had all the liberty that he imagined himſelf to have, did not the warnings that he had received, authorize him to diſconcert the meaſures that might have been taken to deſtroy him? Was not this aſſuring the execution of the order that was given him to go and render an account of his behaviour? In ſuch a circumſtance, is it neceſſary to have demonſtrative proofs for taking ſome precautions? are not ſome warnings ſufficient, eſpecially when one knows his enemy's character?

The honour of the count *Bonneval* was too deeply engaged for him to abandon his proceſs, becauſe they ſuſpected his having thought of it. The calumnies ſpread againſt the queen of *Spain*, the heinous offences which the marquis *de Prié* had charged him with in his letters, ſtuck too cloſe to his heart, for him to ceaſe purſuing the puniſhment and reparation thereof, whatever it might coſt him. It was not that he wanted powerful motives to conſider upon it; the difference that was made between him and his adverſary, foretold him but too much what he had to expect; and others, that he ſhould come and undergo a ſentence, perhaps already pronounced in ſecret: but the count *Bonneval* does not fear an arreſt that can only oppreſs without ſtaining him, inſtead of which, in avoiding the ſentence, his diſhonour would have been certain; all *Europe* being informed of his affair, would have had room to believe that he had impoſed on them by his writings, and that he acknowledged himſelf deſerving of the infamous titles that his enemies had blackened him with.

His honour being ſecure, the lot that was prepared, gave him very little uneaſineſs. The only thing that he requeſted was, that if he was puniſhed for keeping to the letter of the order, that he had to go to *Vienna*, they would not leave the marquis *de Prié* unpuniſhed, who had called him an impoſ-

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tor, a man without religion, or faith; not the wife and daughter of the marquis, who have had the aſſurance to rend in pieces the reputation of a great queen.

It remains to ſpeak of the repreſentation of his imperial majeſty, which they pretend to have been injured: but the contrary is ſo evident in the proceſs, that it would be unneceſſary to add any thing to it. The count *de Bonneval* will only obſerve, that this venerable repreſentation is much more injured by thoſe who were inveſted with the character thereof, than by the purſuits of thoſe that reproached them. Theſe repreſentatives are only venerable, ſo long as they do not forſake their character. When they ſtrip themſelves thereof, when they diſhonour it by unworthy actions, by the ſtrongeſt reaſon they cannot ſecure themſelves from the contempt that is due to them, and from the complaints that there is a right to make thereupon. All that the marquis *de Prié* did in quality of the emperor's repreſentative, the count *Bonneval* has reſpected as much as he ought; and he does not believe, that it can be thought, his earneſtneſs for the obſervation of the preſcribed formalities has been contrary to that reſpect. But as it is not under this quality, that the ſaid marquis has diſgraced him by his letters, and that he has ſuffered, that his wife and daughter ſhould diſparage the queen of *Spain* to the degree that they have done; the ſaid count has demanded, and ſtill requires puniſhment and reparation thereupon. If it is granted him, he ſhall believe, in whatever manner they ſhall uſe him, that they ſhall have done him juſtice. If it be refuſed him, he ſhall regard himſelf as a victim, that they ſhall have ſacrificed, to ſupport a man, who, ſetting aſide his repreſentation, could not be compared to him in any reſpect.'

As

As ſoon as I was conducted to *Spilberg*, I wrote to the emperor in theſe terms.

SIRE,

'WHAT crime have I committed, that I am even prohibited from throwing myſelf at the feet of your auguſt majeſty, to implore your juſtice? I expected that you would do me the favour to hear me, and I was in no apprehenſion, that the credit of my enemies could prevail ſo far, as to deprive me thereof. Sire, *Prié* or I are in fault. We mutually accuſe each other. It is your equity to examine, and to judge us both. Nevertheleſs I appear alone in the ſcene, as tho' the honour of a great queen, and my reputation, were of no conſideration with your majeſty, and your councils. I beſeech you again, as I have already done, that *Prié* may be dealt with as I am. That he may be commanded to come and give an account of the calumnies, that he and his family have publiſhed, and for which I have demanded juſtice.'

I was ſo full of indignation againſt the moſt part of thoſe that compoſed the council of war, that I would not take the trouble to write to them. I was advertiſed, at the beginning of *February*, that they were aſſembled on my affair, and that it appeared by their diſcourſe, that their deſign was to condemn me to death, or to a perpetual impriſonment, becauſe that I had not obeyed ſpeedily enough, eſpecially the order that had been ſignified to me to go to *Vienna*. It was added, that the emperor had not approved of this rigour. That prince *Eugene* had not aſſiſted at this council; and that he had ſaid publickly, that he had been too much my friend; and afterwards I had too much diſobliged him, for him to take any conſideration of what concerned me.

I received a note from that unknown hand, that had warned me, that I was undone, if I went to *Vienna.* Do not flatter yourſelf, my dear count, ſaid they to me, all your judges are in your enemy's intereſt; it is certainly known, that they will condemn you to death. Save yourſelf, if it is poſſible: all efforts have been made to approach your priſon, but in vain: your enemies fear you, and they will not let you eſcape. All *Vienna* is for you; perſons of the beſt quality openly ſollicit your judges in your favour; but they receive nothing but rough anſwers. Once more, ſave yourſelf and live; if not for yourſelf, at leaſt, for thoſe that love you.

I had hardly received this note, when the count *de Thaun* came to notify to me, that the ſupreme aulic council of war had condemned me to death; but that the emperor, through his ſpecial goodneſs, and full power, had prevented that ſentence from being pronounced; and that he ſignified to me, in his imperial majeſty's name, that I was diſmiſſed from his ſervice, and that I ſhould be impriſoned a year.

I confeſs, that maugre all the warning that I had received, this ſentence was a thunderbolt to me. I contained myſelf however in *Thaun*'s preſence, not to give him the pleaſure of being witneſs to my ſorrow. I abandoned myſelf to it as ſoon as he had left me. It was not the ſentence of death, the loſs of my employments, nor my impriſonment for a year, that cauſed my vexation; I looked upon nothing but *Prie*'s triumph, and the ſhame of having ſunk under the intereſt of this man, who was ſo inferior to me in all reſpects. When reflection had calmed my firſt tranſports, which, to ſay the truth, approached nearly to madneſs, I addreſſed the following letter to the emperor.

SIRE,

SIRE,

'I Am then ſacrificed: and what is the fulneſs of humiliation for me, it is to *Prié*, his wife and his daughter. I do not at all thank your majeſty, for having ſoftened the rigour of the ſentence pronounced againſt me; death would have put an end to my troubles, and the life that you give me, will ſerve only to multiply them. Your majeſty knows that I never implored your favour in this affair; I only demanded juſtice of you: if it had been done me, you would have no need to exerciſe your clemency. As I believe that my honour is ſecure, and that I do not doubt, but all the world will condemn thoſe that have judged me, my greateſt trouble is, that I can no more ſay, as I have done until now, that the throne of your majeſty is inacceſſible to intrigue, artifice, falſehood and calumny.'

I cannot tell whether I ſent this letter, or if it was ſeen; but I perfectly remember, that I was forbid writing to any one whatſoever, and that the governor had orders to burn all the letters that I ſhould write, or that came to me. Thus my ſolitude was compleat; and excepting the governor, who commonly eat with me, I abſolutely ſaw nobody, and had no commerce with any one; for when I was condemned they took away my valet de chambre, and another ſervant, whom they had given leave to ſhut themſelves up with me. Abandoned to myſelf the greateſt part of the time, I found employment. There were ſome books in the caſtle; I had ſoon read them. I ſet myſelf to writing, purpoſely to get rid of the thoughts of my afflicting ſituation.

I deſcribed my judges; the picture was true, and conſequently very little favourable. I ſhall

not

not relate any ſtroke of it, becauſe I believe I have ſufficiently proved their injuſtice, and that my juſtification is my only ſcope. I cannot forbear ſaying, that theſe pictures favoured them ſo much, that the governor and his wife, to whom I read them without telling the name, gueſſed them all. That of the count *de Thaun*, for example, began thus: It cannot be denied, but that he is a ſoldier; he has all the manners of one, excepting what his ſtay in *Italy* reformed.——They preſently cried out, it is your preſident the count *de Thaun*.

I drew alſo the characters of all the generals that I had ſeen in command, ſince I had been capable of judging of them myſelf. As they only touched on their qualities as generals, and not on their virtues or vices, I believe I may relate ſome of them.

The marſhal *de Catinat* underſtood war, but more by ſtudy than genius: the art ſeemed too open in his operations, and he was incapable of raiſing himſelf above the common rules.

The marſhal *de Villeroy* could never make himſelf beloved or eſteemed by his troops. It was commonly ſaid, that he knew very well how to chuſe a camp; I do not know why they ſaid it: this is certain, that he did not know how to make uſe of opportunities, and that on the day of action, there was need of another general.

The marſhal *de Bouffiers* had ſucceeded in making himſelf beloved, but not in making himſelf eſteemed. He was not made to command above ten or twelve thouſand men. The fear of hurting the ſtate, or riſking his own fortune, kept him in a continual uneaſineſs, and hindered him from forming any project to ſtick to. As ſecond, he had done wonders.

I never ſerved under the duke of *Berwick*, nor in an army that was oppoſed to him, ſo I ſhall ſay nothing of him.

The marſhal *de Villars* had been, in the war of 1701, the *Achilles* of *France*; he encamped well, he knew how to animate his troops, they loved him, they eſteemed him, and had a thorough confidence in him. I do not know, however, if his reputation was not a little above his merit. I have heard ſay, that at *Fridlingen*, he ought to have been beaten; and his enterprize was like that of a man, that would either deſtroy or advance himſelf. I was witneſs that he might have beaten prince *Eugene*, when we paſſed the *Trouille*, and that he was beaten at *Malplaquet*, thro' the fault of having choſen his ground, as bad as poſſibly he could do. For *Denain*, it was purely a ſurprize, and his merit was in not allowing us time to reconnoitre.

The duke *de Vendome* lived with his ſoldiers as if they had been his children. They adored him, and believed they were marching to victory in following him. He was admirable in the day of action. It is impoſſible to be braver. At one glance of the eye, he knew all the advantages and diſadvantages of his ſituation, and thoſe of the enemy, and diſtinguiſhed where he muſt make his greateſt efforts. He went thither himſelf. His example, and the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, inſpired his troops with a boldneſs and livelineſs, beyond what I can expreſs. The campaign in 1708, did no injury to his reputation, the publick made account of what he would have done, if he had commanded alone.

Prince *Eugene* was active, vigilant, and enterprizing. Wiſdom was his peculiar character. He made uſe of craft, as readily as ſtrength. He fatigued his enemy, by the multitude of attentions that he obliged them to have. He formed ſo many projects, that at laſt ſome ſucceeded for him. When he commanded alone, he never riſked a deciſive action. His meaſures were ſo well taken, that his

his victory muſt have the moſt advantageous conſequences, and that his ill ſucceſs could be but moderate. It was only at *Denain*, that, by I know not what fatality, he ſwerved from his maxims. Had it not been for the victory that he gained over the *Turks*, his glory would have ſuffered extremely in the campaigns of 1712, and 1713.

The duke of *Marlborough*, always ſucceſsful, has been the hero of this age. His great ſkill has been the ſource of his good fortune. It is impoſſible to profit better by the faults of an enemy, than he did. *Schellenberg*, *Hochſtet*, *Ramillies*, *Oudenarde*, and even *Malplaquet*, are the fruits of his bravery, and the wiſdom of his diſpoſitions. He wanted nothing to add to his glory, but to have had to deal with generals more capable of entering into competition with him. In going the right way to work, the ſo imperfect victory of *Malplaquet* is the moſt glorious that he has won.

I alſo drew up the life of *Prié*, and his illuſtrious family. He was a *Florentine*, and of ſo mean a family, that it was never known. If he had been pope, *Nepotiſm* would not have been at all feared. His pretty figure had been the making of his fortune; a rich beneficed man took him into his ſervice, and in return he gratified him in his will. The reſt were in the ſame taſte. I have torn all theſe papers, which I only wrote to amuſe myſelf, without any deſign to make uſe of them, and beſides, this ſort of revenge ſeemed to me unworthy of a man of my condition.

What I applied myſelf to the moſt was, to try my cauſe myſelf. I proceeded therein with all the rigour of an impartial and inflexible judge. It is the only one of the papers that I have preſerved. It will be ſeen whether I have well ſupported the character that I had given myſelf.

The CAUSE of COUNT BONNEVAL, drawn up, and tried by himself.

QUESTIONS.

WHY have you so highly taken the queen of Spain's *part? would you have taken it as warmly againſt others, as againſt the marquis* de Prié *and his family.*

ANSWERS.

I Have the honour to be related to this princeſs. I have infinite obligations to her family. Proximity of blood and acknowledgments made me look upon it, as an indiſpenſable obligation, to oppoſe myſelf to calumny and lyes. I ſhould have thought myſelf unworthy to live, if I had not done it. Any other, beſides the marquis *de Prié*, would have puniſhed his wife and daughter, or would have given me an account of his refuſal, ſword in hand.

Are you very ſure that this calumny was firſt uttered in the marquis de Prié's *houſe?*

Nothing is more certain. I obtained all the neceſſary informations, before I exclaimed againſt it. People of honour have aſſured me of it, and have confirmed what they told me. I have named them, and requeſted, that they might be examined.

Nevertheleſs ſeveral perſons, that were at the marquis de Prié's *houſe, at the time when, according as you ſay, theſe diſcourſes were held, have declared, that they did not hear them.*

The power of a ſub-governor of the Low-Countries is very great; he is in a ſituation to recompenſe, and to make himſelf feared. Negative witneſſes, in ſuch a matter, cannot prevail againſt poſitive. When a diſcourſe has been heard, it cannot be ſaid, that it has not been held; whereas it is very poſſible, that ſeveral may not have heard it, or might not give attention enough thereto, to be able to relate it exactly.

How

How comes it then, that the marquis de Prié *has ſaid, that you were the author of the calumny, and that you had made the monſter that you fought with?*

It is what I cannot comprehend. I yield to be put to death, in the moſt ſhameful and cruel manner, if they can convict me of ſo execrable a crime; but I demand alſo, that the marquis *de Prié* may be treated, as I conſent to be, if he does not prove what he has advanced.

You hated the marquis, you have boaſted that you would deſtroy him.

I own that I did not love him: his character, and mine were quite oppoſite. It is abſolutely falſe, that I ſhould boaſt that I would deſtroy him, or even that I had any ſuch deſign before our quarrels.

Could you not have declared yourſelf leſs publickly, and leſs roughly? why was it neceſſary that you ſhould mention the marquis de Prié's *family?*

The calumny againſt the queen of *Spain* being public, the contradiction, and denial muſt be ſo likewiſe. I own that I might have expreſſed myſelf leſs roughly, and that it is not conſequentially, that a woman, who ſpreads a ſlanderous piece of news, muſt be a whore and jade. I might alſo not have mentioned the marquis *de Prié*'s family, but I was not maſter of my temper: and I made ſo great a difference between the queen of *Spain*, and thoſe men or women, that had ſpoken ill of her, that I did not think, I ought to ſpare the terms. Beſides I neither named the marquis, nor his wife, nor his daughter in that declaration; and they cannot prove, that the notes, wherein they were named, have been ſpread by my orders.

Why did you publiſh at the congreſs of Cambray, *and every where elſe,*

The marquis *de Prié* had wrote letters againſt me: he treated me therein

elſe, your diſpatches to the court of Vienna?

as the worſt of villains. The only means that I had to confound this bold ſlanderer, was to make the ſubject of our quarrel known every where: which I could not do better, than by publiſhing the papers that I had addreſſed to the emperor.

You refuſed the attachments: did not you ought to have obeyed them proviſionally, if they were wrong ordered?

Perhaps I ſhould have done better; but I only refuſed them, becauſe they were not intimated to to me, according to the rules which I believed, and which I ſtill believe, that a governor has no right to derogate from. I ſay the ſame thing of the order for me to go to *Anvers*.

Why did not you aſſume the tone of a petitioner in your writings, and in your letters eſpecially to the council of war? you have ſpoke to them as tho' you was their equal. Theſe proud and lofty ways muſt have offended them, and prepoſſeſſed them againſt you.

A man of my rank knows not how to abaſe himſelf to any thing that ſavours of meanneſs and cowardice. The cauſe that I defended is ſo juſt, that I thought I ſhould diſhonour it, if I had done otherwiſe therein. Firmneſs, and even pride agrees with innocence, which knows not what it is to aſk favour, and can only offend thoſe who know not how a gentleman ſhould think, eſpecially if he is of high birth. I wrote whatever would ſerve for my defence, and I have done it in ſuch a manner, as to ſhew that right and reaſon were on my ſide, and that I could not be refuſed the juſtice that I demanded without violating them.

You went to Holland *inſtead of going the neareſt way to* Vienna,

I own that I was in the wrong, if the thing is to be carried to the utmoſt

as you were ordered: could you be ignorant that ſuch a diſobedience was a capital fault?

moſt ſeverity; but the order did not ſpecify either the time of my ſetting out, or that of my arrival. I thought I was at liberty to take a journey. I had ſtrong reaſons for concealing what road I ſhould take; and for going one in which my enemies would not expect me. I confeſs that it might be ſuppoſed that I conſidered whether I ſhould obey; and that even for ſome time I had a mind to diſobey: but alſo the contrary might be ſuppoſed. Why of two ſuppoſitions, equally probable, ſhould one be choſen to adhere to more than the other? I could have retired into *France*, the ſentence that was formerly pronounced againſt me having been diſannulled. Can it be imagined that I would have come and expoſed myſelf to a certain condemnation, if I could have thought that my excurſion to *Holland* would have merited it? There is no human tribunal where the inward thoughts and conſiderations are puniſhed. I ſet out from *Anvers* for *Holland*, the order that I had received, did not forbid me. It was from the *Hague* that I ſet out for *Vienna*; I took the nigheſt road to go thither. I arrived in time, ſince the day of my arrival was not fixed. I may then be ſuſpected of diſobedience, but I cannot be convicted of it.

My cauſe being thus tried, after having matutely and at ſeveral times weighed the charges that were againſt me, I pronounced the ſentence.

The count Bonneval *having rendered himſelf violently ſuſpected of diſobedience in withdrawing himſelf into a foreign country, where he abode near a month before he ſet out on the road for* Vienna, *according to the order of his imperial majeſty; having alſo refuſed the attachments that were ordered him by*

by the marquis de Prié, *his ſuperior; in puniſhment for theſe faults, he ſhall be impriſoned during ſix months, under prohibition of going out from thence before their expiration, on pain of death. It being permitted him, after that time is expired, to proſecute the ſaid marquis* de Prié *for ſatisfaction for the calumnies, wherewith he pretends that the ſaid marquis has diſhonoured him.*

Thus buſied I paſſed the firſt ſix months of my impriſonment. Contented with not letting me ſee any body, and with burning all the letters that were ſent me, they left me pretty much at liberty; I walked about in the courts and in the gardens. The governor and his lieutenant were good people, and were concerned for my diſgrace; they did all that was in their power to amuſe me: we played at cheſs, and ſometimes at cards with their wives. The lieutenant had been a long time in *Turkey*, he talked much to me about it: He told me, among other things, that he had often heard them ſay, that they were very ſorry for the ſeverity of the law, that forbid them giving any poſt to a Chriſtian, which was the reaſon their forces were not diſciplined as well as thoſe of *Europe*; and that notwithſtanding their great armies, they were ſo often beat by the Chriſtians; not that they were leſs brave, but becauſe they had neither arms nor diſcipline among them.

The nearer the time of my releaſe from priſon approached, the more my vexation and perplexities encreaſed. At laſt that day arrived, almoſt ſooner than I wiſhed for. They asked me what road I would take; I determined for *Venice*: they conducted me to the frontiers, and forbid me, on pain of death, ever to ſet foot again in the territories of the empire.

The End of the FIRST SECTION.

MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT *BONNEVAL.*

SECT. II. PART I.

THE life of man is ſubject to ſuch continual viciſſitudes, that the moſt happy mortal on earth has no reaſon to deſpiſe even the moſt wretched; as he knows not how ſoon ſome ſiniſter accident, ſome ſudden turn of fortune, or unexpected event may reduce him to ſuch circumſtances, as ſhall put him on a level with thoſe whom he has formerly contemned as the moſt miſerable. Neither has the moſt unfortunate of the ſons of men, if he takes a thorough view of the all-wiſe diſpenſations of providence, any ſufficient reaſon for envying the moſt proſperous; as he knows not how ſoon thoſe ſtorms of adverſe fortune, which he now labours under, may blow over, and himſelf be lifted up to a higher pitch of worldly felicity, than, perhaps, the other ever really enjoyed, excepting only in outward appearance.

I have often found by experience, that our minds bend, juſt as we would have them. Tho' I am naturally impatient, yet have I ſuffered grievous injuſtice, and a rigorous imprisonment, with more compoſure of ſpirit, than I ever durſt have hoped for; and have ſince enjoyed both pleaſure and ſatisfaction in a baniſhment, which the envy and policy of my enemies has oblige me to endure; but, no more of this at preſent, until I have taken leave of *Europe*, and opened the ſcene of my *Eaſtern* adventures *.

Behold

* The reader will find in the following ſection, ſome remarks on a fictitious life of count *Bonneval*, the reaſon of which is accounted for in the following letter of his to a lady at *Venice*, his friend.

" You are deſirous, madam, of being informed of my " adventures, and I have herewith ſent them; for I con- " ceal not any thing from my friends; it being only for " the *Literati* of the firſt rank, to mortify people by flat " refuſals; which they pretend, indeed, to aſcribe to mo- " deſty, but which, in reality, are owing merely to gri- " mace, and to ſelf-love. I preſent you here, then, with " genuine memoirs, far different from thoſe that have been " printed under my name, and which I could not peruſe " without indignation. I wonder the publick could be " ſo groſly impoſed on, and that they were not ſhocked " at reading thoſe ridiculous fables, which have no other " merit than a high-flown multiplicity of words.

" It is now about eighteen months, ſince I went, at the " head of a large detatchment, to ſurprize a body of *Ger-* " *man* forces. Already had I purſued them hotly for two " days, when my retreat was cut off, by ſix ſquadrons, " who attacked me in a defile. Never was there a ſharper " ſkirmiſh; even *Mars* himſelf, in the height of fury, " could not have exhibited a more dreadful ſcene: The " *Germans*, animated by their natural bravery, and the " *Turks* by their numbers, and by my example, perform- " ed ſuch prodigious actions on this occaſion, as I was far " from expecting; after an obſtinate and bloody engage- " ment, however, for ſix hours, the former were put to

" flight,

Behold me now at *Venice*, ſtripped and deprived of all, without even a domeſtic to ſerve me. I left *Germany* with rage and deſpair in my heart, and I find, in this place, a fair-one, whoſe charms appeaſe its fury, and render it tractable and ſubmiſſive.

A rich and generous lady ſnatches me from the jaws of the moſt abject poverty, to which the inſatiable

" flight, and left me maſter of the field of battle. Several " perſons of diſtinction were taken priſoners; amongſt " which was a young *French* gentleman, whoſe good mien " prepoſſeſſed me in his favour, and induced me to treat " him with great kindneſs. Senſibly touched with this un- " expected goodneſs, the young gentleman reſolved to " unite his fortune for the future with mine, and accordingly " went with me to *Conſtantinople*.

" As ſoon as I had cauſed his equipage to be returned him, " he preſented me with the memoirs, whereof you made " mention to me in your laſt letter; and I own the title " ſtruck me, ſo that I read it over with the utmoſt curioſity. " The firſt part ſeemed to me pretty well deviſed; pa- " tience! ſaid I to myſelf, though this author gives but a " very ſuperficial account, of my diſputes with the marquis " *de Prié*, I ought to be thankful to him for his good " intentions. It is true, he aſcribes to me abundance of " trifling things, very unworthy of my character; one " ought, however, to excuſe a writer, who has no other " materials to go upon than his own fancy, or, at moſt, " ſome mutilated or forged memoirs. But I hardly caſt " my eyes upon the ſecond, before I was highly exaſperated, " at the part he makes me act, and the extravagancies " therein contained, which are only proper for the hero " of a romance. The digreſſions alſo of this author, and " the liberties he takes, in his deſcriptions of the ſtates " where he makes me travel, are as imperfect and faulty, as " the adventures he imputes to me; adventures, to the " full as ridiculous, as they are wretchedly carried on. " Theſe, madam, are the reaſons, which oblige me to " give you a juſt notion of my conduct in *Turkey*; and " this notion, I am well aſſured of it, will baniſh from your " mind, all thoſe prejudices, with which that ill informed " author may have filled it."

tiable greedineſs of my enemies had reduced me. The profuſion of the illuſtrious *Cornaro* raiſes me up in a moment from a ſtate of indigence and miſery, to affluence and proſperity; the beauteous *Salviati* inſpires me with a moſt lively tho' reſpectful paſſion, which crowns my happineſs at this preſent hour: But enough of this; let us enter into a more particular account thereof, and of the circumſtances previous thereto, wherein there may be leſs rapture and extacy.

As ſoon as I arrived at the delightful city of *Vinice* I thruſt myſelf into an *auberge*, which is a kind of inn, where people diet for ſo much a meal, and have ready furniſhed lodgings: But I was too well known for me to remain long concealed. Scarce was I arrived in this city, before the noiſe of my having retired hither, ſpread itſelf abroad, and every one was apprized of it. Some *French*, and even ſome *Germans* came to viſit me, who ſeemed to look upon me with a different eye from what I had imagined they would. However I quitted my ſolitude and ſhewed myſelf publickly; I viſited ſome noble *Venetians*, who made me perceive by their gracious reception, that the ſentence of the aulic council had made no great impreſſion upon them.

It was one of theſe courteous *Venetians*, with whom I had a ſhort time contracted a particular intimacy, that introduced me to ſignora *Cornaro*, a young widow lady of a moſt noble family and of an immenſe fortune; whoſe magnificent palace was crowned with pleaſures from every corner of *Venice*: as ſhe was not ignorant of the ſeveral viciſſitudes of my former life, and particularly with the long and cruel impriſonment that I had lately undergone, ſo ſhe treated me with the greateſt diſtinction, tho' I muſt confeſs, that my appearance at this time, could

could not claim the leaſt deference from a lady of ſuch high rank.

The viſits and politeneſs of the *Venetians*, and my gracious reception at the illuſtrious *Cornaro's*, comforted me a little, but that was all; I was not the more at eaſe, as I had not wherewith to ſatisfy my hoſt. In this intricacy, which was near plunging me into a deep melancholy, a banker came to my *auberge*, to enquire for me. He aſked me, if I was not count *Bonneval*: I told him that I was. I have orders, ſaid he, to pay you ten thouſand franks, and, at the ſame time, am abſolutely forbid to tell you from whence: it will be in vain for you to queſtion me: He counted me down this ſum in gold, for which I gave him my receipt. I could not imagine from whence this ſuccour came; I gueſſed it to be from general count *Fleming*, as he was one of my friends, and almoſt the only one that I knew capable of ſuch a piece of generoſity; but an accident, which I am about to relate, that happened very ſoon after, ſet me right in this particular.

I began now to conſider how I ſhould diſpoſe of myſelf. I had abſolutely reſolved to ſhew myſelf no more in *France*, neither had I wrote thither ſince my impriſonment. *Spain* was reconciled to the emperor, and there was no appearance of my ſervice being acceptable there. I preſented it to the republick: they politely anſwered me, that they were very ſorry to have no poſt they could offer me, for that the only ones that were ſuitable for me were filled. I addreſſed myſelf to the *Ruſſian* envoy, and received from him much the ſame anſwer. The reſident from *Vienna* was the cauſe of all theſe rebuffs, by order without doubt of the miniſters, who had intended my ruin. He diſparaged me every where as much as he could poſſibly; giv-

ing out, that I was of a dangerous ſpirit, and of an inſupportable haughtineſs and pride; that they had bore with me in *Germany*, with much difficulty; and that every body there were pleaſed that I had given them an opportunity of getting rid of me; and added, that after what had paſſed, he did not believe that any one that would live well with the emperor would think of receiving me.

Deſpairing on ſeeing myſelf thus repulſed, in ſpite of my birth, reputation, and ſervice, and vexed at theſe diſappointments, the diſcourſe I had with the lieutenant of *Spitberg*, concerning *Turkey*, revived in my mind, and the idea of my horoſcope now preſented itſelf again in the moſt lively manner. Theſe firſt thoughts made me tremble, and I could not help ruminating on what muſt be the thoughts of my family, and all *Europe*; and how *Prié* would exult in proving me the man without faith or religion. However I familiariſed myſelf inſenſibly to theſe thoughts, and brought myſelf to deſpiſe whatever could be ſaid of me; and the inſupportable wearineſs that an idle life occaſioned me, together with the deſire of revenging myſelf, determined me upon ſeeking an aſylum in *Turkey*.

As the carnival was juſt begun; ſo to draw myſelf out of theſe continual deliberations, I gave myſelf up to the pleaſure of the ſeaſon. I put myſelf into maſquerade, and went to all the plays, balls, and other public entertainments. I was one evening at an aſſembly, at the noble *Cornaro*'s, where play ran very high, and I had the misfortune to loſe very largely; inſomuch, that what remained of my ten thouſand franks were hardly ſufficient to ſupport me a month longer, even with the greateſt oeconomy. There are ſharpers every where to be met with; and as *Venice* is not free from them, eſpecially at carnival time, ſo ſome had found means

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to introduce themſelves into this lady's magnificent palace, as ſeveral noble *Venetians*, beſides myſelf, found that night to their coſt.

The generous ſigniora *Cornaro* could not avoid taking notice of my run of ill luck, and expreſſed her concern thereat in the moſt affecting terms. Going the next morning to pay her a viſit, our converſation turned on the ſame ſubject. Count, ſaid ſhe, I am too well acquainted with the hardſhips you have endured, through the implacable malice of your enemies, and the diſtreſs to which their machinations have drove you, not to be ſenſible, how ill you can bear, at this time, the loſs of ſuch a ſum, as your laſt night's ill fortune obliged you to part with; and, I aſſure you, I am the more concerned, as this accident has happened to you in my houſe. I have often heard your valiant actions extolled, by the impartial and diſcerning, long before I had the pleaſure of ſeeing you at *Venice*; and fame ſpoke ſo loudly in your behalf, that I could not forbear compaſſionating your ſufferings, even when I was an entire ſtranger to your perſon. But your polite behaviour, ſince you have been in this place, and the magnanimity, wherewith you bear your misfortunes, has occaſioned me to be under the greateſt uneaſineſs, at ſeeing a man of your birth, valour, honour, and probity, reduced to ſuch low circumſtances, as I muſt needs imagine you to be in at preſent; therefore, you cannot do me a greater pleaſure, than in permitting me to gratify the violent inclination that I have, to alleviate your misfortunes, in ſuch ſmall degree, as my power will allow me: when, opening a cabinet, ſhe took out a bag, and preſenting it me, "here, count, ſaid "ſhe, I beg you will favour me with the acceptance "of this indemnification of your laſt night's loſs." I deſired to be excuſed, aſſuring her, that my ne-

ceſſities did not, as yet, pinch me ſo much as to ſtand in need of it; but, that, nevertheleſs, I ſhould always have the ſame obligations to her generoſity, as tho' I had received her noble proffer. No denial, count, added ſhe, I am certain that the ten thouſand franks you lately received from the banker, muſt have need of a recruit by this time. Her laſt words aſtoniſhed me, as I knew that I had not mentioned this affair to any one. I told her, that, indeed, I had received ſuch a ſum from a banker, as ſhe had mentioned, but that I did not think he had been very true to his truſt in divulging it, eſpecially as he was enjoyned ſecrecy, by the perſon that had ſent it me. Indeed, count, ſays ſhe, I believe you wrong him very much; for, beſides us two, I dare anſwer nobody, but himſelf, knows any thing of the affair. I then immediately diſcerned my unknown benefactreſs, who had before given me ſo much trouble in divining from whence that agreeable preſent came; and I directly cried out, it was to your goodneſs, then, madam, I perceive myſelf indebted for that ſingular favour; ſorry I am that my power at preſent will permit me to make you no other acknowledgment than my ſincere thanks; but I beg of you to ceaſe conferring new obligations, upon a wretch, who has not the leaſt glimpſe of ever having it in his power to return them. Whether that ever happens or not, count, replied ſhe, I intreat that you will make yourſelf eaſy, about this ſmall trifle, which will not much enhance the obligation, and I perſiſt in your not refuſing the acceptance of it. In a word, I was forced to comply; but the noble *Cornaro*'s generoſity, which ſcarcely knew any bounds, would not permit her to ſtop here; in a few days after ſhe obliged me to accept of an apartment in her palace, and, in a ſhort time, ſhe forced me to receive from her,

her, an annuity for life of two thouſand chequins out of the bank, merely to ſupport my idle expences. This unexpected piece of good fortune, happened to me the very firſt month after my arrival at *Venice*, and ſet me, not only above want, but even in a ſtate of affluence, ſufficient to ſatisfy a mind much more covetous of riches than mine.

It was not therefore poverty, beyond all diſpute, that induced me to leave *Italy* for the *Levant*, as ſome of my enemies would willingly have perſuaded the world; who, in publiſhing this ſlander, imagined they ſhould blacken me yet more, by baſely accuſing me of having ſacrificed my religion* to ſordid intereſt.

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* In the forementioned letter, he thus vindicates himſelf from any aſperſions that may be thrown upon him as to his changing his religion.

" As for my religion, it will be ſomewhat more diffi-
" cult, to clear myſelf: For a Chriſtian to wear a turban,
" to poſſeſs a conſiderable employment, and enjoy the fa-
" vour of a *Mahometan* emperor, theſe, ſay they, are con-
" vincing proofs againſt count *Bonneval*; no one can doubt
" of his having been circumciſed. Alas! no, madam, no;
" a man of my temper and character, is incapable of ſully-
" ing his reputation by ſo baſe an action. 'Tis true, and
" I believe you are well ſatisfied of it, I never was either
" a hypocrite, or a bigot. Natural religion is the only
" one I admit of; neither have I acknowledged any other
" ſyſtem of faith for many years. In a word, my religion
" is that of an honeſt man, and an honeſt man values his
" reputation and honour, tho' he may be ſomewhat parti-
" cular in his ſentiments, concerning the worſhip due to
" his creator. The force of cuſtom does every thing; and
" a ridiculous prejudice, ſhall have often more prevalence,
" than the moſt ſacred laws.

" Don't you remember, madam, the reflection you
" made, on account of the marriage of *Donna Joanna*,

" your

I now enjoyed in the palace of this generous lady, all the pleaſures of a life, ſo much more delightful, as I was juſt delivered from a melancholy and forlorn condition and confinement, which had brought me almoſt to the brink of the grave: A noble apartment; an exquiſite table; an entertaining and well-choſen

" your woman? Count, ſaid you, don't you admire at the " power of faſhion; and what authority it has in the world? " Three words, pronounced by a prieſt, *ego conjungo vos*, *I* " *join your hands*, ſhall make a young fellow go to bed to a " maiden in the ſight, and with the conſent of the whole " world: and this is called a ſacrament, adminiſtered by a " holy perſon. The very ſame action, without thoſe three " words, is an enormous crime, that for ever blaſts the " credit of the moſt amiable woman. In the former caſe, " the father and mother rejoice, and hug themſelves upon " the happy ſettlement of their daughter, delivering up " themſelves this beloved child into the arms of her huſ- " band; whilſt, in the latter, ſorrow and deſpair takes " poſſeſſion of their hearts, and they confine her, and treat " her with the utmoſt ſeverity. It muſt be confeſſed, the " laws are very unaccountable! Very true, madam, you " have too much good ſenſe, to ground your hopes of ſal- " vation, upon vain legal ceremonies; they are mere trifles, " which heaven only requires of reaſonable creatures, to " maintain unity among civil ſocieties.

" Whilſt I was in the ſervice of *Chriſtian* princes, I fre- " quented their churches but very ſeldom; now I am " amongſt the *Turks*, I go ſometimes to their moſques. I " lived in *France*, in *Germany*, and elſewhere, without " performing, in a manner, any act of the *Chriſtian* reli- " gion. I now offer up my prayers to heaven in *Turkey*, " and imitate the *Mahometans*, without being one myſelf. " I acknowledge one ſupreme being, and worſhip him in " ſpirit and truth, without confining myſelf to any parti- " cular form, and my conſcience does not at all reproach " me upon this head. In ſhort, my conduct at *Venice* muſt " have ſatisfied you, that my principles are thoſe of an ho- " neſt man."

choſen ſet of company; good cheer; plays; concerts; balls, and pleaſant walks, ſucceeded immediately to a ſevere captivity, attended with continual fears and alarms, from the unjuſt ſubterfuges of a council that thirſted after my blood.

This agreeable change of ſcene had reſtored my exaſperated ſpirits imperceptibly to repoſe. Already had I begun to enjoy a kind of tranquillity, when this inward peace was ſuddenly diſturbed by an enchanting object; and this object is now my tender wife, the too charming *Salviati*, born at *Padua*, and deſcended from a family, as illuſtrious for its nobility, as for the great men with which it has ſupplied the republic, almoſt in every age. This amiable lady never came to *Venice*, but in the time of the maſquerades; ſo that it was by means of the *carnival*, which began that year immediately after *Chriſtmas*, that I became acquainted with her. Signiora *Cornaro*, my kind and indulgent benefactreſs, with whom ſhe generally lodged, had never mentioned her to me; wherefore, the firſt time I beheld her, I was ſeized with ſo ſtrange an oppreſſion of ſpirits, that I became in a manner ſtupified. My eyes dazzled as it were, with the luſtre of her charms; and I did not recover my raviſhed ſenſes, till, with a malicious ſmile, ſhe aſked me if I found myſelf indiſpoſed. In ſhort, an hour's converſation compleated my defeat; and this intrepid ſoldier, this fierce warrior, who breathed after nothing but vengeance, and loved nothing but glory, becomes vanquiſhed, confounded, and ſubmiſſive, and is content to amuſe himſelf with ſpinning, after the example of the hero of antiquity. But who would not excuſe my weakneſs; ſince I was leſs blameable than that *Pagan* demigod; and this new *Omphale* infinitely ſurpaſſed the queen of *Lydia*.

Let

Let any one repreſent to themſelves a perſon about eighteen, whom love had taken a pleaſure in forming; and whoſe every action is accompanied by the graces; as beautiful as *Venus*, as wiſe as *Minerva*, learned, witty, couragious, delicate, faithful, ſincere, liberal and conſtant; ſuch is her character; ſuch is her picture. This incomparable lady was an orphan; her mother dying within a few days after ſhe had brought her into the world, as if nature had been exhauſted in producing ſuch a prodigy.

She was indebted for her education to a virtuous aunt, from whom ſhe was to inherit a conſiderable fortune. My actions, and my misfortunes, had inclined her in my favour. Perfectly well informed of my ſufferings and military exploits, ſhe never ſpoke of me but with encomiums; wherefore, it was no hard matter for me to gain her good will, whereof ſhe even then gave me ſome teſtimonies; and after twice or thrice converſing with her, our mutual affection grew ſtronger and ſtronger every day, inſomuch, that we became inſeparable.

Count, ſaid ſhe to me, one time when I was endeavouring to convince her of my love, a natural inclination diſpoſes me in your favour; I have an infinite eſteem for you, and perhaps I —— but let not this ſincere confeſſion incite you to any raſhneſs, nor yet to tranſgreſs that reſpect, which is due to my ſex and my birth. You are as yet but little acquainted with me; love is not what I ſeek moſt in a man; not that I am an enemy to ſoft deſires; I like a heart that is ſuſceptible of them, but without weakneſs; a heart that every woman may envy me: I am even ſenſible, that I can never love any one but a hero. Your glorious actions had touched me before I knew you; and your merit has compleated what your reputation had ſo well begun;

in

in ſhort, without thoſe ties, which render you ſubject to the yoke of matrimony, I ſhould not heſitate a moment, to convince you of the gift of my heart, by that of my faith.

Ah! adorable *Julia*, cried I out with tranſport, with what ſweet hopes do you fill my ſoul! can the ſorrows wherein my misfortunes had plunged me, be compared to the joy you now create in me? Here I fell upon my knees, which ſhe ſuffered without deſigning ſo to do, and even without oppoſing it. She beheld me in this poſture, with a pleaſure that ſeemed to diſcompoſe all her ſenſes, and ſome tears trickled down her cheeks, upon which ſhe held her hand over her eyes, not ſo much to conceal thoſe pearly drops, as through that ſweet modeſty, which is neither willing to be ſeen, nor has power to hide itſelf. I kiſſed her hand ſubmiſſively, whereupon ſhe grew jealous both of my reſpect and her own love. Riſe up, count, ſaid ſhe, this humble poſture neither becomes you nor me; your conqueſt is compleat, do not, therefore, have recourſe to any deceitful artifices, in order to delude me; ſpeak with ſincerity, and I will liſten to you.

Recovering from my tranſport, I remained dumb, motionleſs, and confounded, for a few moments. At length my ſcattered ſenſes reſume their wonted empire, and my ſpeech returning, lovely *Julia*, ſaid I, I reſpect your virtue, and adore your charms; fear nothing, therefore, from my raptures; a ray of hope makes me already look upon the happineſs of being united to you, as certain. The wife I have in *France* can be no obſtacle thereto. Baniſhed for ever from my native country, and married in an ill hour, I believe it will be eaſy to get thoſe engagements ſet aſide. A good ſum diſtributed properly, will induce the court of *Rome* to conſent to a ſecond marriage. But, charming *Julia*,

lia, I love glory, and thirſt after nothing but revenge; neither are you a ſtranger to the motives that have made me already determine to make ſome propoſals to the *Grand Signior*; what will become of you, during my reſidence in *Turkey*? or rather, what will become of me when ſeparated from you?

Ah! count, anſwered that couragious lady, do you think, that in marrying you, I would any ways contribute to leſſen your glory, or meant to confine you to an idle effeminate life? No, dear count, I am too fond of greatneſs of ſoul, bravery, and heroiſm, to reſtrain you within ſuch narrow limits. *Turkey* ſhall be as dear to me as my native country; as ſoon as you are ſettled there, I will fly to your arms; there are no dangers I will not face, no obſtacles I will not break thro', nor any voyage I will not undertake, to give you ſincere proofs of my affection; let not, therefore, your paſſion for me, any ways put a ſtop to your inclinations, but rely upon my word.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the ſweetneſs of thoſe interviews we had daily together. Soft raptures, raviſhing bliſs, and precious moments; ſuch were the delights wherein my time ſlipped away, during my ſtay at *Venice*, after the arrival of this enchanting creature. Theſe promiſes were uttered by a mouth too lovely, not to be believed ſincere: and ſome confuſed glances, which were darted me every inſtant, from her languiſhing and bewitching eyes, made me haſten my deſigns.

To confirm me in my reſolution of offering my ſervice to the *Port*, *Mebemet Baſtame*, *Baſſa* of *Albania*, happened juſt then to come to *Venice*, to determine ſome differences that had ariſen between the *Turkiſh* and *Venetian* officers, on account of an important poſt, of which each of them were deſirous of taking poſſeſſion.

This

This brave *Muſſelman* was particularly acquainted with me; we had often met together in *Hungary*, and had even contracted a friendſhip for each other. This *Baſſa*, being informed of my being at *Venice*, did not at all ſcruple to make me a viſit; and we ſaw one another afterwards every day; far, therefore, from being cautious of my proceedings in this reſpect, I made no manner of ſecret of them, and the whole city were acquainted therewith.

It is certain, however, that this uncircumſpect way of behaving, was very near coſting me my life; the aulic council, being informed of this great intimacy, took umbrage thereat; wherefore, it became neceſſary to put ſome conſtraint upon ourſelves, that we might not bring an illuſtrious ſenate, who favoured me with their protection, and did me infinite honour, into any præmunire. But this our circumſpection was ſomewhat too late; and my interviews with *Mehemet* expoſed me to many dangers, which I eſcaped only by the care of the adorable *Julia*, who, ever watchful over my ſafety, diſcovered to the number of nine emiſſaries, that were ſent to take away my life. Two of theſe were ſeized, and put to death ſecretly; ſix others eſcaped to *Padua*, and afterwards diſperſed of themſelves; and ſuch good orders were iſſued out, that the ninth fell into my hands.

Without all doubt, I ſhould have given him no quarter, had it not been for the virtuous *Salviati*, who would never conſent to my ſacrificing him to my revenge. Count, ſaid ſhe, do not ſtain your hands in the blood of ſo infamous a wretch; ſhew, on this occaſion, that you can be maſter of your paſſions; a baſe aſſaſſin is not worthy of your anger. He has told me, that want alone induced him to undertake this horrid action; well, then, convince your enemies, that a mind, like yours, puniſhes

niſhes only by rewarding. Here, wretch, purſued ſhe, giving him a purſe of a hundred chequins, be gone, get as faſt as poſſible out of the city, and do not run the hazard of falling into the hands of juſtice. I muſt confeſs this generoſity ſtruck me with admiration, and excited in my heart ſome ſentiments of pity, to which I had, until then, been a ſtranger: this induced me to give ſuch another ſum to this miſcreant, and to favour his eſcape; upon which the poor creature, ſtruck with a moſt lively ſenſe of remorſe, would have put an end to his own life; and, had I not endeavoured to compoſe his ſpirits, I believe would have laid violent hands upon himſelf.

Hereupon *Mehemet Baſtame*, alarmed at the dangers to which he had expoſed me, took ſuch prudent meaſures, that we could afterwards confer together without any fear: the carnival afforded us frequent opportunities of ſeeing each other; and, when I could not treat with him in perſon, the beauteous *Julia* ſerved me as an agent. This *Baſſa* having ſent all my demands to the *Porte*, they were all accepted, but only that of liberty of conſcience, whereupon I had inſiſted the moſt; however, as *Mehemet* had ſuggeſted to me ſome hints upon this head, I reſolved to put them in practice, without being obſtinately bent upon a thing, whereof, perhaps, it might have been out of my power to have exacted the performance. Accordingly, I found my account in following his advice, whereby I avoided that falſe ſtep, whereof I have been wrongfully accuſed.

It was ſtipulated, amongſt other articles, that I ſhould have a body of thirty thouſand men, at my diſpoſal, and under my command; that I ſhould have a good government conferred upon me forthwith, with the title of *Baſſa* of three horſe-tails; that

that I ſhould have a ſalary of ten thouſand aſpres a day, which amounts to about forty-five thouſand *Livres* a year; and, in ſhort, that I ſhould be made commander in chief of an army, in caſe a war ſhould break out with the emperor: Theſe main points having been ratified by the *Divan*, orders were given to the governor of *Candia*, to get two gallies in readineſs to conduct me to the *Sublime Porte*.

The ſenate of *Venice*, aſſured of having, in me, a zealous protector, near the *Sultan*'s perſon, were overjoy'd at my deſign, and at the honourable conditions granted me by his Highneſs; but, then, they concluded it neceſſary for me to conceal it artfully, and have it reported that I was dead, as ſoon as the carnival ſhould be over: Though, as *Mehemet Baſtame* ſet out for *Conſtantinople* in *February*, all the ſurmiſes of the people to my prejudice gradually wore away.

I believe the public will not be diſpleaſed at my giving them here a ſhort deſcription of *Venice*, and an account of divers circumſtances that preceded my embarking, eſpecially the ſtratagem, that made my death believed indiſputable.

Venice is undoubtedly the moſt delicious place of reſidence in *Europe*; as it is alſo the beſt governed and moſt agreeable city in all *Italy*: Being ſituated in the midſt of the ſea, all its buildings are, in a manner, ſeparated from each other, by large and beautiful canals of limpid and pure water, that is never diſturbed by any filth. The roofs of the houſes, the maſts and ſtreamers of the ſhips, with ſpacious gardens, adorned with verdant trees, and a prodigious number of *gondolas*, extremely fine and almoſt all gilt, together with the ſplendour of innumerable fine palaces, and other ſtately edifices, every part of which is embelliſhed with marble, porphyry, jaſper, agate, and other curious ſtones,

afford at one, at the ſame time, and in one and the ſame place, a proſpect the moſt agreeable, and fulleſt of variety, that the whole world, perhaps, can afford. A pure, temperate, and ſerene air, makes a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſpring to autumn, and autumn to ſpring. Nipping froſts, large flakes of ice, with cutting *north winds* are hardly ever known there, nor yet the too ſultry heats of the ſcorching dog-days. Mild *weſtern breezes*, which continually play upon the ſurface of the *Adriatic* gulph, both moderate the violence of the ſun-beams, and the ſeverity of the too intenſe cold. There the glorious luminary of the day is hardly ever darkened, by thoſe thick clouds and fogs, that render almoſt all the ſea-ports of the *weſt* unwholſome and incommodious; neither is the ſoil barren but very fertile; for one may find at *Venice* the moſt delicious fruits, almoſt in every ſeaſon. Thoſe ſtately edifices, that ſeem, in a manner, to ſpring from of the middle of thoſe lakes wherein they are built, are accompanied with large and magnificent gardens. The waves of the ſea, ſinking into a fat and looſe earth, water it ſo happily, and with ſuch due proportion, that it produces all things abundantly; beſides, the main-land, which is very near this city, ſupplies it, in profuſion, with whatever is neceſſary, convenient, agreeable, or delicious. 'Tis true, it is no longer the ſame *Venice*, whoſe flouriſhing trade, formerly excited the jealouſy of a number of ſovereign princes; it is at preſent almoſt reduced to nothing, which has leſſen'd its ſtrength ſo much, that its weakneſs diſables it from making any conqueſts; but, nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that the prudence of its government, and its happy ſituation, render it impregnable.

I have obſerved, however, that *Venice*, except in carnival-time, may become tireſome to ſtrangers, unleſs

unleſs they are well known there. A *Venetian* is naturally miſtruſtful, ſuſpicious, and jealous; nor does he eaſily grant his friendſhip to any one; but then, as ſoon as has done ſo, it laſts as long as his life: His ſubſtance, fortune, and himſelf, are as much at the ſervice of his friends as of his own family.

In maſquerade-ſeaſon, people make themſelves amends for the tedious hours they paſs the reſt of the year. There is then no diſtinction of perſons; an univerſal civility reigns throughout the city: They extol very highly the *Venetian* opera; nevertheleſs, I will confeſs frankly I have been often tired there. Take away the decorations and the muſick (beſides which one muſt be a good judge, to reliſh the *Italian* quaverings) and the reſt is miſerable. Their voices are too effeminate; the recitativo is ſhocking; the too ſmall number of actors is a defect that wearies one; and the dances are laſcivious and immodeſt: In a word, the *French* operas, ſuch as that at *Paris*, infinitely ſurpaſſes that of *St. John Chryſoſtome* at *Venice*, which is cry'd up for the moſt famous in all *Italy*: But let us leave theſe digreſſions to travellers.

The charming *Salviati*, who had approved of my voyage to *Conſtantinople*, and the honourable conditions granted me by the *Grand Signior*, could not help trembling, however, at the bare thought of the danger, to which I was going to expoſe myſelf. I know, ſaid ſhe frequently, the *Turks* keep their promiſes religiouſly; I have nothing to apprehend for your life, I agree to it; but their religion gives me great uneaſineſs; and I ſhudder, when I think you may, perhaps, be forced to embrace *Mahometiſm*.

Baniſh from your mind theſe chimæras, lovely *Julia*, reply'd I; *Mehemet Baſtame* has ſhewn me

a letter from two *Imans*, the *Mufti*'s ſubſtitutes, to whom he had written on my account, who have promiſed to manage matters ſo, as to ſave me from the ſacred knife of circumciſion: A preſent of two hundred ducats will excuſe me from this new baptiſm. They add, that, as they ſhall have the charge of inſtructing me in their rites, they will take care to give out, they have done it in private, and that all I had to do, was to inſiſt that the ceremony ſhould not be performed in public, which they would be far from refuſing me.

I own my reputation will ſuffer, and the generality of mankind will believe me a real *Mahometan*; nor will they be much in the wrong, as they imagine, the whole religion of the *Alcoran* conſiſts in wearing a turban, and the *Turkiſh* dreſs; but perſons of underſtanding, and who are acquainted with me, will never be perſuaded that I have ſubmitted to be circumciſed. I will even aſſure you, if the *Baſſa* of *Albania* had not ſuggeſted this method to me, and uſed his Intereſt to ſave me from this action, I ſhould never have conſented to go to *Turkey*.

You have too much good ſenſe, fair *Julia*, to raiſe any objections to my kind of metamorphoſis; wherefore, don't ſcruple giving me your hand, that I may bear away with me the ſweet name of your ſpouſe: But how many alarms will this ſeparation create in my tender heart! I cannot think thereof without trembling!

In ſhort, *Rome* was already on the point of determining in our behalf; my friends wrote me word, my ten thouſand ducats had wrought miracles; ſo that it became neceſſary for us both to diſappear; fair *Julia*, that ſhe might deceive her relations, and I, that I might impoſe upon my enemies. This beauteous maiden, then, having taken proper

proper meaſures to ſecure to the value of about forty thouſand chequins in jewels, money, and other effects, nothing more remained but to put the cheat upon a credulous populace; to which end I had recourſe to the following expedient.

I had a *gondola* that belonged to me, and found means, unperceived, to bore a hole in the bottom, which I took care to ſtop well and cover. I had likewiſe cauſed two bags of well-dreſſed leather to be prepared in the form of a bladder, and exactly cloſed, to bear up the fair *Salviati* on the water; and two of my friends were to poſt themſelves, with a light ſkiff in a place appointed, in order to be at hand to help us.

All things being thus diſpoſed, I made my *gondoliers* ply their oars as faſt as poſſible upon the canal of the *Rialto*, and when we were come to the place ſpecified, I took my time ſo well, that my *gondola* ſunk almoſt at once. My people, being then terrify'd, betook themſelves to ſwimming; whilſt I, ſeizing my miſtreſs by her hand, threw myſelf, together with her, into the canal, and were relieved almoſt in an inſtant by our two friends. My *gondola*, which the motion of the water had turned upſide down, not being found till next morning, and at a good diſtance from the city, all the people not only believed us inevitably loſt, but, on finding the hole bored in the bottom, accuſed my enemies as guilty of this accident.

Beſides, ſeveral perſons who were in the ſecret, having afterwards given out, that our bodies, carried away by the tide, had been found upon the coaſts of a neighbouring iſland, no body doubted any longer of our deaths; the fair *Salviati*'s aunt appeared inconſolable; greateſt part of the citizens ſung our praiſes, or rather our funeral dirges; in a

word, we were fully convinced of the eſteem of the people.

As ſoon as we had got into the ſkiff, we rowed away to a bye-place, where we landed; two very convenient apartments had been prepared for us in the palace of a rich *Jew*, who, after having abjured his religion, had purchaſed the title of noble *Venetian* for the ſum of eight thouſand chequins; and as nobles of this kind, who are promoted to honour, are obliged to keep very fair with the ſenate, it was believed we ſhould be there altogether unknown. This noble of a new date, paſſed for a man of great integrity; I believed it abſolutely; at leaſt, he gave me no proofs to the contrary during my ſtay with him. When we complain of ſcurvy friends, we ought to be apprehenſive that ſelf-love has exaggerated their faults, and that we are likewiſe ſomewhat to blame ourſelves; for it is very natural, and alſo uſual, to condemn others, in order to excuſe ourſelves: Nevertheleſs, his perſecutions of my dear wife, after my departure, were altogether unworthy of an honeſt man. His picture, in few words, was as follows.

He was about the age of thirty, had a pretty taking countenance, and made a tolerable appearance, tho' he was but little; but, with all the vices, both of heart and mind, of the *Italians*, he was cloſe, revengeful, and jealous to extravagance. An hypocriſy artfully concealed, ſerved as a cover to a perfidious and treacherous ſoul; beſides which, he had reaſon join'd with caprice; pedantry with learning; pride with morality; tyranny with a pretended virtue; and love with licentiouſneſs. So foul a character was by no means undiſcernible by me; after being a week in his company, I foreſaw that ſome misfortunes would enſue from thence; and my foreſight proved but too well grounded in the

the end: And tho' they did not fall perſonally on me, the fair *Salviati*, who was a victim to them, being another myſelf, I felt them all at the rebound.

Signior Barnetti, for ſo was this perſon called, was poſſeſſor of immenſe riches; and had a ſumptuous palace, where gold, azure, and the moſt precious ſtones, dazzled the eyes on every ſide. His ſpouſe, to whom one could not, in juſtice, refuſe the name of handſome, not only was not tainted with any of his vices, but was endued, on the contrary, with all the qualities that were quite the reverſe; her mind being, undoubtedly, entirely anſwerable to the beauteous tenement wherein it reſided: Inſomuch that, had it not been for the aſſiſtance of this virtuous lady, I ſhould have loſt, irrecoverably, my dear ſpouſe whom I adore; and, perhaps, ſhe might even have fallen a ſacrifice to the furious tranſports of this miſcreant. Nevertheleſs, I muſt do him this juſtice, he diſſembled ſo artfully for about ſix months that I was under his roof, that I believed myſelf miſtaken more than once, and imagined his diſpoſition was not ſo very horrid as I had begun to ſuſpect.

The ſecurity of my charming miſtreſs, upon this head, was too perfect for me to be willing to diſturb it by the melancholy thoughts that crouded into my head; we muſt often govern ourſelves according to contingencies, which reaſon cannot poſſibly gueſs at; for it ſeems as if ill fortune had its caprices, and its critical minutes, as well as love; wherefore, I kept a profound ſilence as to my diſcoveries, being afraid I might be deceived, but time ſhew'd but too plainly that my ſuſpicions were well grounded.

Mean while, my impatience to become the huſband of *Julia Salviati*, could only be mode-

rated by the favourable news I received almoſt every day from *Rome*; nevertheleſs, that court made me languiſh almoſt three months longer: 'Tis true, my paſſion for this charming perſon was changed inſenſibly into a perfect friendſhip; now, when love turns to amity, this latter retains ſomewhat, I know not what, ſo agreeable, ſoft and ardent, that is full as ſweet as enjoyment; which, nevertheleſs, one is continually thirſting after.

At laſt, this permiſſion, ſo much and ſo long deſired, arrives, and I am married to my amiable miſtreſs, in the preſence of four witneſſes; namely, two ſenators, *Barnetti* and his ſpouſe: This circumſtance of my marriage at *Venice*, which is, perhaps, unknown in that city till this day, will undoubtedly appear fabulous and forged; nevertheleſs, nothing is more certain than this wedding; the permiſſion of the datary is a proof thereof, and this permiſſion is ſtill in the cuſtody of the prieſt who join'd our hands; who is a man of prudence and virtue, and who is in poſſeſſion of one of the moſt honourable employments in the republic.

Beſides, they who are acquainted with the character of the court of *Rome*, will never queſtion a thing of this nature; being convinced, that the dataries, or ſecretaries of that chancery, will make out any ſort of briefs for a round ſum of money. Cuſtom, which does all things, cauſes mankind to be governed as much by abuſes, as by Laws. Does a man want to have his marriage diſſolved, and to wed his couſin, niece, or even ſiſter-in-law, or to be freed from the vows of celibacy which he made at the foot of the altar? All this is done at *Rome*. All favours are there taxed, and diſpenſations may be purchaſed at all prices. The ſordid intereſt of that court is ſo well known, that the rich often take advantage thereof at the expence of

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the poor. Theſe are prerogatives, which its partizans term ſacred, and which others look upon as groſs abuſes. Theſe iniquitous privileges are ſupported with admirable art. That court, as full of addreſs to ſupport its credit, as fruitful in invention, hardly ever fails of gaining its deſired ends.

I am not ignorant, that moſt of theſe ſurreptitious briefs are made out unknown to his Holineſs, but ſtill they are made out; and that for infinite numbers, who believe their conſciences clear, when they have got theſe permiſſions. Such alſo was our ſecurity upon this head; we gave ourſelves very little concern about the validity or invalidity of the brief, and we took advantage of it

It would be very difficult to deſcribe ſenſibly the tranſports we both felt on receiving this agreeable news. Inſtead of ſaying paſſionate things, and making tender proteſtations to each other, on account of our approaching nuptials, we remained in a manner motionleſs, looking at each other without ſpeaking a word: There might be ſeen in our eyes, and in our faces, I know not what ſweet confuſion, I know not what affecting diſorder, which inflamed us yet more for each other, and drew a thouſand tender ſighs from our hearts. Nevertheleſs, I am in doubt, whether the aſſurance of my happineſs cauſed me moſt joy or ſorrow. If, on one hand, I ſaw myſelf at the height of felicity, on the other, the neceſſity of parting ſoon, and abandoning this dear wife, afflicted me grievouſly; and it is certain, had it not been for the fortitude of the adorable *Julia*, I ſhould have preferred an obſcure ſolitude, to all the honours which awaited me at the *Ottoman* court. Irreſolute and wavering, I heſitated, many times, about breaking off all my engagements with his Highneſs; ſo that my preſent happy condition was frequently interrupted by the bitter expectation

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of our approaching ſeparation: Such was my ſituation during the laſt three months of my reſidence at *Venice*.

At laſt, the couragious *Salviati*, by her redoubled careſſes, induces me to reſolve upon my departure: 'Reaſon, ſaid ſhe frequently to me, ought to teach 'us not to lay things ſo much to heart; we ought 'to comfort ourſelves with the hopes of an ap-'proaching re-union, and to expect the beſt; me-'lancholy and grief prove fatal at the long run. 'The profeſſion of a ſoldier, to which you have 'been accuſtomed from your tender years, together 'with the grievous misfortunes you have under-'gone, ought to have inured you ſo much to ſuf-'ferings, that you ought no longer to regard ſuch 'things as deject moſt other men. Summon your 'former courage, therefore, now to your aſſiſtance, 'and fly where glory and honour calls you.' In ſhort, her prudent counſel, and my duty, gave me, at length, reſolution enough to undertake this long voyage.

After having diſpoſed all things for this purpoſe, *Signior Barnetti*, who longed for nothing ſo much as my departure, made us both ſet out in the night (for *Julia* would go with me as far as the ſhip) and diſguiſed us ſo effectually, that no body knew us. Our little voyage was ſoon at an end; the captain of the frigate, wherein I was to go, and who had expreſs orders to ſet ſail as ſoon as I had got on board, conſtrained us at laſt to part.

It may be eaſily believed, that our ſeparation was tender; I am going, dear *Julia* ſaid I, and my ſorrow is ſo great, that my ſoul is ready to take its leave of my body, and ſtands quivering upon my lips. Have a good heart, dear count, anſwered ſhe, and be more compoſed; I will never loſe ſight of you, but will talk to you continually; the

the ſeas can never divide two hearts like ours, they are too cloſely united ever to forget each other: Nevertheleſs, I feel her ſtagger, and ſhe falls in a ſwoon between my arms; perhaps ſhe had ſome foreſight of the terrible trials to which her virtue would be expoſed. At length ſhe recovers her ſenſes, and the darkneſs that clouded her bright eyes vaniſhes away. Adieu, ſaid ſhe, and quitted me directly, haſte away; ſhe ſtops, however, again, for a while, and looking upon me earneſtly, I hope, cry'd ſhe, to be with you again in a ſhort time, and fix all my thoughts on that pleaſing expectation: I find now that nothing but love can long employ the mind of thoſe who are affected with that tender paſſion. This ſaid, ſhe leaps into her *gondola*, cuts the yielding waves of the *Adriatic* gulph, and diſappears from my ſight in a moment. This cruel ſeparation moved me ſo ſenſibly, that I hardly took notice of one ſingle object, till my arrival at the iſland of *Cephalonia*.

Here I break off the thread of my ſtory, and the ſeries of my adventures, to give leave for my tender ſpouſe to finiſh her own ſtory; it is ſhe that wrote it, the *Kalſas* having no farther hand therein than to correct the ſtyle, and embelliſh it with his oriental expreſſions.

As ſoon as I had left count *Bonneval*, a deadly languor ſeized with ſuch violence upon my ſpirits, that I fell into a kind of ſtupefaction, wherein I continued for the ſpace of ten days; but, by little and little, the pleaſing hope of ſeeing him again ſoon reſtored my courage, and I bent all my thoughts upon baniſhing my chagrin. The amiable wife of *Signior Barnetti*, who had never forſaken me a moment, contributed greatly to rouſing me from my lethargick condition; and her officious kind-

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neſs, attached me to her more cloſely, than I had been before my huſbands departure.

Her ſpouſe alſo, left nothing undone, on his ſide, to convince me of his eſteem. Till that time I had never perceived that his uncommon civilities, were ſelf-intereſted; his diſſimulation having concealed his deſigns from me; but he did not ſuffer me long to continue in this agreeable ignorance. His paſſionate glances began to make me uneaſy; which induced me to avoid, as much as poſſible, all opportunities that might offer, for him to explain himſelf.

I even gave orders to a woman, whom they had provided to wait upon me, and who only knew me for a relation of *Signora Barnetti*, never to leave me, unleſs when I was in company with her miſtreſs; for, from that moment I did not at all doubt, but ſo much civility and reſpect, proceeded from a growing paſſion. In effect I was by no means miſtaken, this was the real motive to which I owed his uncommon regard for me.

As his frequent viſits, even at unſeaſonable times, gave me abundant room, to imagine him exceedingly impatient, to make me a declaration of his flame, I concluded it muſt come to a very great height, ſince it could induce him to tranſgreſs the bounds of decency. And as from a violent love, when unſucceſsful, it is very common to proceed to injuſtice, anger, and extravagance; I took ſuch good meaſures, that for above three months, he could never find an opportunity to acquaint me with his paſſion; but the fatal moment arrived at laſt, and when I leaſt expected it.

One day, having neglected ſhutting my cloſet door, he ſurprized me, as I was attentively reading a letter from my dear count; he informed me therein, of his ſafe arrival at the iſle of *Candia*, from

from whence he was to ſet out in two days, for the *Sublime Porte*, where I might let him hear from me. The ſubtle *Italian*, ſeeing me greatly moved thereat, laid hold on this critical inſtant, and fixing his eyes wiſhfully upon me 'divine counteſs, ſaid 'he, with all thoſe charms whereof you are miſtreſs, 'you will find none but vanquiſh'd and ſubmiſſive 'lovers; you deſerve the reſpect and adoration of 'all mankind.' This language incenſing me, 'I 'will have no adorers, anſwered I, but him, to 'whom heaven has united me.' Ah! madam, cried he, interrupting me, 'at leaſt do not hate a 'wretch who cannot live without being the hum-'bleſt of your worſhippers:' this ſaid, he falls down at my feet, lays hold on my gown, preſſes my knees, and with an unbridled tranſport, makes me a formal declaration of his odious paſſion, in terms that would ſtartle libertines themſelves.

Though equally exaſperated and ſurprized, I had ſtill ſufficient government of myſelf, to diſſemble my juſt indignation: 'Riſe up ſaid I to him, with a 'fierce look, and expoſe me no more to diſcourſes, 'that fill me with the moſt lively ſorrow. Baniſh 'from your heart theſe poiſonous ſentiments, 'which muſt cover you with eternal confuſion. Is 'it thus you violate the ſacred rights of hoſpitality; 'and that in ſo outragious a manner, that 'tis with 'difficulty I curb my reſentment?' Far from being touched with theſe reproaches, this infamous miſcreant had the boldneſs to attempt taking ſome unwarrantable liberties; where upon I ſeized on a poniard, with deſign to make him vomit up his black ſoul; but fear and ſhame put a ſtop to his audaciouſneſs. He betakes himſelf immediately to flight, and withdraws to his own apartment full of rage and diſorder. A few moments after, I perceived him walking up and down his garden, juſt like

like a mad bull, whom the buzzing of bees has exaſperated, and whom nothing can either reſtrain or tame.

From that fatal minute, which was the beginning of all my misfortunes, I ſhut myſelf up in my own apartment, and obſtinately refuſed to appear in any place where he was. His wife, greatly ſurprized at ſo extraordinary a change, earneſtly demanded the reaſon of it; and far from making any ſecret thereof, I gave her a ſincere account of all her huſband's extravagancies. Whereupon that virtuous woman, finding herſelf as much injured as me, loaded him with reproaches, and made him fully ſenſible of the infamy of his procedure.

Accordingly, the wretch, confounded, and mortified, with down-caſt looks, and tears in his eyes, came and aſked me pardon; he even appeared to me ſo deeply concerned for his offence, that I made no manner of difficulty of reſtoring him to my friendſhip; nay, ſo lively did I think his grief, that I was obliged to comfort him. From that time he avoided me with as much care, as he had before officiouſly ſought my company; inſomuch, that overjoyed at this happy change, I treated him with abundance of ſincerity, and laviſhed on him a thouſand innocent careſſes, as if to recompence him for the uneaſineſs I had cauſed him. But it is one unhappy circumſtance attending the unfortunate, that they can never give any proof of their friendſhip, but what is miſtruſted; accordingly, my kindneſs provok'd, inſtead of pacifying him. Nevertheleſs, his hypocritical conduct continued the ſame for above a year and half; but the baſe man impoſed upon my credulity, and had meditated revenge: Nor did the ungenerous wretch, already ſullied with many crimes, ſtop at any thing ſacred, to gratify his reſentment.

Already

Already had I received ſeven or eight letters from my tender huſband, which made me hope for a ſpeedy re-union; already had he furniſhed a ſumptuous palace at the *Porte*, for my reception; when a ſilence of ten months alarmed me prodigiouſly. His letters ceaſed on a ſudden; divers veſſels had arrived from thence, within that time; and I was well aſſured that he had a handſome ſettlement; ſo that I knew not to what to aſcribe this indifference; but was at length informed whence it proceeded.

Word was ſent me, that *Barnetti* had written the moſt horrid letters, to the count my huſband; amongſt the reſt, that an intrigue, carried on with the utmoſt indiſcretion, had covered me with infamy; that I had been delivered of a baſtard, within fourteen months after his departure; and to conceal my wickedneſs, had cauſed the infant to be thrown into the canal that ran by his houſe. Theſe horrible calumnies were confirmed by three witneſſes, equally villanous with himſelf. Never did tongue utter a more deteſtable falſehood! Never did pen ſtain paper with a more odious aſperſion! A noble *Venetian*, to whom the count had tranſmitted *Barnette*'s letters, acquainted me with this ſhocking news.

My huſband was ſtruck at the receipt of this monſtrous invective, as much as if ſentence of death had been pronounced againſt himſelf: he even gave way ſo much, at firſt, to his rage, that it was near coſting him his life. Nevertheleſs, recovering at length from theſe tranſports, he cried out; no, *Julia* can never be guilty of theſe crimes, her mind is too pure, and her ſoul too great, to be capable of being tainted with ſuch enormities. Theſe falſities proceed from the malice of a wretch provoked, and thirſting after revenge, becauſe he could

could not attain to his desires: Love, once exasperated, will carry a man to the most heinous outrages. Perish then the vile accusers, who have dared to impose on me by such abominable forgeries.

Notwithstanding this, however, it was evident that jealousy sometimes got the better of his confidence in me; and this it was undoubtedly, that induced him, to resolve upon finding out the truth.

The noble *Venetian* before mentioned, was a man of probity and strict honour; and, accordingly, as it was easy for me, to clear myself from all these base aspersions, he wrote my husband all the particulars of this whole affair; and what had incited *Barnetti* to this cruel vengeance. But, alas! this letter no longer found him at *Constantinople*; his grief, for my pretended infidelity, had struck him to the heart; and this induced him, after obtaining the consent of the *Porte*, to set out for his government, which was in *Arabia*; so that he never received it till three years after, and about ten months before our re-union.

The agent of the *Grand Signior*, at *Venice*, having secretly apprized me of this circumstance, I fell into a dreadful condition, and my despair was as great as just. A hundred times was I near turning against myself the poniard, with which I was about depriving the infamous *Barnetti* of life; 'twas well his virtuous wife never forsook me, had it not been for her, there would have been an end of my days. She intermingled her tears with mine; and no one could have told which of us was most deeply afflicted; I begg'd her, however to leave me to grieve by myself: Madam, said I to her, I shall never cease loving the count; though alas! I may never again set eyes on him. In short, after remaining above a week in this delirium, I resolved upon making my escape, and going to *Constantinople*.

I foreſaw that reproaches or complaints would only exaſperate *Barnetti* the more, wherefore I ſtifled my reſentment; well knowing he would not fail to be revenged on me, by diſcovering my place of my retirement to my friends, as he had threatned me many times; in which caſe, it would have been impoſſible for me ever to have rejoined count *Bonneval*, whoſe reputation was already blaſted by the falſe reports of his having embraced *Mahometiſm*. The fear of loſing this well-beloved huſband, with my ardent deſire of vindicating myſelf from thoſe black calumnies wherewith he had been prepoſſeſſed againſt me, got the better of all thoſe juſt motives I might otherwiſe have had to continue at *Venice*: And in vain did my friends, and *Signora Barnetti* endeavour, by their remonſtrances, to make me alter my reſolution, nothing was capable of withholding me.

That generous lady, therefore, having, at laſt, conſented to my departure, contrived to get me away in the night. A *felucca* had been hired to carry me to the iſland of *Cephalonia*, in hopes the governor, who was one of my ſpouſe's intimate friends, being moved with my misfortunes, would with pleaſure procure me the means of proceeding from thence to *Conſtantinople*; but, how vain were theſe my ſchemes, how deluſive my expectations! All came to nothing, the ſixth day after my embarkation. Here it is I am about to enter into a vaſt and boiſterous ſea of melancholy and cruel troubles, from which I was not delivered by providence, till after having undergone infinite fatigues and ſufferings.

Already, for five days, had the calm and ſerene weather given us hopes of arriving ſoon at that iſland; already did its coaſts appear to us as thick clouds, which diſperſed by degrees, and left us to

admire its charming little hills, diverſified with whatever a country can afford moſt tranſporting, when a dreadful hurricane ariſing on a ſudden, carried us into the gulph of *Lepanto* with inexpreſſible rapidity.

The waves, that mounted up to the heavens, filled the *felucca* every inſtant with their breakings, whilſt an impetuous wind drove us violently againſt a ridge of ſteep rocks; in ſhort, already did we look upon our deſtruction as inevitable, when the veſſel overſet at once, by grazing upon a bank of ſand. A piece of one of the yards, that was broken off, catching hold on my cloaths, drew me with it into the ſea, as if on purpoſe to ſave me; for, being driven by the wind, it convey'd me ſafely a-ſhore, whilſt the two poor ſailors, not being able to get clear of the *felucca*, wherein they were overſet, were buried under its ruins; inſomuch that their bodies were found afterwards clinging to ſome remains of their ſhatter'd little veſſel.

Some charitable fiſhermen, who had been witneſſes to our ſhipwreck, ſeeing my body floating upon this piece of timber, came to my aſſiſtance, and carried me to their cottage. I was quite motionleſs, and almoſt quite lifeleſs, but their officious and timely care brought me again to myſelf; it was, however, only to deplore my unhappineſs, and lament this new misfortune. Theſe good creatures, judging by my cloaths that I was no ordinary perſon, gave the *Aga* of *Patras* notice of my diſtreſs, and made him ſo lively a deſcription of it, that he came without delay to my relief; and as they had not mentioned one word to me upon this head, I was extremely ſurprized, next morning, to ſee this *Turk* enter my room, attended by a numerous retinue, and make me a thouſand offers of his ſervice. His civilities, however, and earneſt intreaties to induce

induce me to take a lodging at his houſe, would have been fruitleſs, had he not apprized me of the dangerous conſequences of continuing in ſuch loneſome places; whereupon I reſolved to accept of his kindneſs.

All my effects had been ſwallowed up by the ſea, I had nothing left but ſome jewels, with about a hundred chequins, that were in my purſe; and fifty of theſe I gave to the charitable fiſhermen who ſaved my life. This done, the generous *Achmet* (for ſo was the *Aga* of *Patras* called) made me get into a covered waggon, and we ſet out for his houſe, where we arrived within ſix hours. He preſented me immediately to his wife, and, embracing her, 'All praiſe to the moſt High, and to the great pro-'phet *Mahomet*, ſaid he, here is a young and beau-'tiful perſon, who was ſhipwreck'd on the coaſts of 'the gulph of *Lepanto*, and whom ſome charitable 'fiſhermen brought again to life. The ſea has de-'prived her of all her ſubſtance. Being informed 'that this virtuous perſon was with thoſe people, 'where ſhe could not have had what was neceſſary 'to ſupply her wants, I went myſelf in queſt of 'her; I made her a propoſal of coming along 'with me, to which ſhe has conſented, and I have 'promiſed you ſhould take her under your care: 'Give her a place, therefore, at your table, and 'let her be reſpected and waited on by our ſlaves in 'the ſame manner as yourſelf. Every charitable 'work is rewarded in Heaven by the Almighty, and 'we ſhall reap no ſmall comfort, I am perſuaded, 'from this. She ſeems to me both a virtuous and 'ingenious woman, her example and converſation 'will prove equally agreeable and beneficial to 'you.'

Hereupon the wife of *Achmet* received me with that affectionate and artleſs civility, which takes off

from charity, that diſagreeable harſhneſs and roughneſs that is ſo diſguſtful to the poor wretches who are obliged to accept of it; inſomuch that our friendſhip ſoon became perfect. But as the lamb cannot reliſh any pleaſure, unleſs it is leaping and bounding upon the tops of hills and mountains, and the chaſte dove cannot live without moaning, when ſeparated from her dear mate, I felt within myſelf the cruel anguiſh wherewith the abſence of the beloved object imbitters all the delights in the world.

In vain did that virtuous woman endeavour to diſpel my ſorrow; it always diſcover'd itſelf in ſome of my actions; whereupon, *Achmet* and his wife, not being apprized of the true cauſe of my melancholy, redoubled every moment their care and careſſes, and never thought they could do enough for me. Senſibly touch'd with the moſt lively gratitude, I reſolved to acquaint them with my name, and the whole detail of my grievous misfortunes, leſt their friendſhip ſhould be cooled by ſuſpicions no ways advantagious to my reputation.

Already had I been three months in this charitable family; the temper of *Achmet* and his ſpouſe, which I had fully diſcovered, gave me no manner of uneaſineſs; nay, I did not doubt but, being moved by my misfortunes, they would furniſh me with the means to put my deſigns in execution: I rightly judged, that the bare name of wife to count *Bonneval*, who was highly reſpected by the *Turks*, would induce them to find ſome way of conveying me to the *Sublime Porte*; wherefore, I no longer heſitated upon intruſting them with my ſecrets; whereby I gave them, at the ſame time, a proof, that I had a lively ſenſe of their many favours.

It would be quite wrong, ſaid I to myſelf, for me, through an exceſs of ſorrow, to wait here and expect my deſtiny with my arms acroſs; I muſt exert myſelf, in order to get clear of the misfortunes wherein I am fallen; and if, in ſpite of my endeavours, I muſt periſh without accompliſhing my purpoſe, it ſhall not be through my own fault, nor ſhall I have any thing wherewith to reproach myſelf. Though I am altogether eaſy within myſelf as to my own innocence, this peace of mind ought not to prevent my endeavouring, as much as in me lies, to juſtify myſelf; which done, I will wait the event with indifference. The unhappy find ſome relief from hope; and it is a kind of advantage to me, that I cannot be worſe, and may be better.

After this ſhort inward ſoliloquy, I gave *Achmet* and his wife a faithful account of all that had happened to me ſince my acquaintance with count *Bonneval*; and ſcarcely had this generous pair heard my ſtrange adventures, when compaſſion increaſed their kindneſs to me yet more. They embraced me with tranſports; 'Virtuous woman, cry'd *Achmet*, 'the more I know you to be unfortunate, the greater claim you have to my friendſhip: Providence having thrown you into my hands, perſecuted and almoſt helpleſs, you ſhall find in me a vigilant and ſincere friend, who will ſpare nothing to enable you to triumph over your enemies, and to reſtore you to the love of your huſband. I know him, that valiant count, and have experienced his goodneſs, he has given me as ſignal proofs of his generoſity as of his bravery. Make yourſelf eaſy then, dear counteſs, and depend upon me for the care of getting you conducted to *Conſtantinople*.'

After this ſo evident a teſtimony of a generous and ſolid friendſhip, which proceeded from a ſin-

cere piety, my ſorrow was ſomewhat allay'd, or rather, it was wholly confined within my own breaſt, that I might only appear to my hoſpitable *Mahometans* with a contented and ſatisfied countenance: But ſtill finding they talk'd no more of my departure, I fell again by degrees into my former melancholy. The wife of *Achmet* reproach'd me therewith in obliging terms; whereupon, being conſtrained thereto by my inward grief, I unboſom'd myſelf to her as follows. 'Tis true, ſaid I, 'my dear friend, that, in ſpite of the many favours you laviſh upon me, I am penſive and uneaſy, but I appeal to your own heart, O! moſt virtuous woman! it is in yourſelf I will find excuſes for my ſeeming ingratitude. Enter, then, for a moment into my ſufferings, or rather, ſuppoſe that, being reduced to the ſame misfortunes as me, I had received you under my roof, and had afforded you there the ſame kind entertainment as I find here in your houſe, could you enjoy any great ſatisfaction therein, whilſt ſeparated from a huſband, who is a thouſand times dearer to you than your own life? Should you not be afraid, the calumnies, which had already made ſome impreſſions on his mind to your diſadvantage, ſhould alſo induce him to believe you guilty? Alas! it is this fear alone that preys upon me.

'To die innocent is no great misfortune, but to die loaded with the ſcorn and indignation of the perſon one loves, and not to have it in one's power to juſtify one's ſelf, this is the rock againſt which even the moſt unſhaken conſtancy muſt ſuffer ſhipwreck. Pity me, therefore, generous friend, and do not blame my uneaſineſs; but engage *Achmet* to ſend me away to re-join the count, or at leaſt to *Conſtantinople*, where I may find

'ſome

'ſome means to let him hear from me.' Hereupon that amiable woman immediately calls her huſband, and, with her eyes full of tears, informs him of our converſation.

'It would be injuſtice, ſays ſhe, to deſire to con-'ſtrain her to ſtay any longer with us, but the rea-'ſons which induce our friends to leave us, tho' 'never ſo ſtrong and convincing, are not a jot the 'leſs afflicting. I am going then, dear counteſs, to 'ſeparate myſelf from you, perhaps never to ſee 'each other again. Keep always in remembrance 'the lively friendſhip I have conceived for your 'lovely perſon. Adieu, receive here my laſt em-'braces; I am going to order every thing that is 'neceſſary for your departure.'

Achmet alſo, though equally concerned, told me, he was about to have me conducted to the iſle of *Negropont*; that the *Baſſa* of that place, who was one of his friends, would take care to have me conveyed from thence to the *Porte* in a galley. Having thus ſaid, he delivers me a large purſe; 'Here, purſued he, 'are twelve hundred chequins for your ex-'pences; I will join thereto an urgent letter for 'the *Baſſa*.' At theſe words he takes his leave of me, and bids me adieu: 'Go without ſeeing me 'again, added he, I ſhall not have courage enough 'to bear our parting.'

He had ordered me two large trunks, filled with every thing neceſſary for me; at four in the morning the baggage was put upon two horſes, and I mounted myſelf upon a third, attended by two eunuchs on foot, who were to conduct me; but they unfortunately loſt their way, and, inſtead of taking the road to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, ſtray into the country of the *Magnoti*'s; ſo called from certain *Greeks* that inhabit it, who are as great thieves, and as treacherous, as the *Spaniſh Miquelets*. In effect,

after a painful and fatiguing journey for eighteen days, by reaſons of the rocks and mountains with which the *Morea* or *Peloponneſus* is covered, the ſomewhat ſultry heat determined me to reſt myſelf in a little ſhady grove that we found on the ſide of a riſing ground. I had not been there a quarter of an hour, enjoying the agreeable breezes of the refreſhing *Zephyrs*, when I was ſurprized by a gang of thoſe above-mentioned *Banditti*: And my two eunuchs, at the ſight of this ſet of robbers, betook themſelves immediately to their heels, and fled away like the wind; leaving me alone, and expoſed to all the inſolences of theſe rapacious profligates.

This nation of *Magnoti*'s, inhabit that part of *Peloponneſus*, from cape *Modon* to cape *Matapan*; and the ſteep rocks, with which their country is filled, ſecures them from all manner of purſuit. They are a perfidious and ungovernable people; like the wild *Arabs*, they ſhelter themſelves in inacceſſible caverns, ſo that the *Turks*, to whom they are ſubject, have never yet been able, either to reduce them, or to force them, by any puniſhments, to keep within the bounds of duty, and the rules of a civil ſociety. The *Greek* religion, which they profeſs, tho' *Chriſtian*, cannot put a ſtop to their rapine. They have hardly the leaſt knowledge thereof; their *Papa*'s, or prieſts, far from inſpiring them with any ſentiments of morality, are the very firſt to rob and ſtrip all thoſe, who are ſo unfortunate to fall into their hands; neither do they regard the *Turks*, tho' their Lords, any more than others.

It may be eaſily judged, that wretches of this character, had no great regard either to my threatenings or my entreaties. They not only took away my three horſes, with all *Achmet*'s preſents, but they had alſo the impudence to ſtrip me, and to give

give me ſome old rags they pull'd off one of their wives, in exchange for my own cloaths. 'Tis true, however, they offered me no farther inſult, but left me at liberty, and vaniſhed in an inſtant.

Any other but me would have died with the fright; but I ſupported this new misfortune with dry eyes, and even with an indifference, whereat I am aſtoniſh'd myſelf when I now think of it. I had preſence of mind ſufficient to conceal three fine diamonds ſo artfully in my hair, that they eſcaped their clutches; they left me alſo my letters for the *Baſſa* of *Negropont*. Heaven gave me, on this occaſion, a courage ſuperior to my troubles; and I hoped ſtill, that with the help of patience and my health, I ſhould ſee an end of my misfortunes; at the worſt, ſaid I, however unhappy I may be, this life is ſo ſhort, it is not worth while to give way to deſpair.

As ſoon as theſe wretches were departed, I purſued my journey as long as the bright luminary of the day would afford me his light; and, on the approach of night, I walked as faſt as poſſibly I could to reach a road where I had diſcerned ſome maſts of ſhips; but my feet being tender, and likewiſe mangled in this fatiguing journey by the ſharp and rough ſtones, they refuſed me their aſſiſtance: In a word, my ſtrength being exhauſted, I fell down, thro' wearineſs, under a ſhady tree, where I was forced to paſs the night.

Tho' I am naturally pretty hardy, for a baſe timorouſneſs never yet poſſeſs'd my ſoul, my ſpirits began to ſink, and I could not help ſhuddering when I heard the roaring of the ſea calves, with which theſe parts abound, and which come a-ſhore by night to feed upon the coaſts. A hare, or a fox (I know not which, the darkneſs preventing me

me from diſtinguiſhing objects) chanced to take refuge under my coats: Whereupon I ſhriek'd out aloud, and he flew away like lightning; I am very ſure I cauſed him as much fear as he created in me. Oh! unfortunate counteſs, cry'd I, fetching deep ſighs, how deplorable is thy fate! Waſt thou born to undergo ſo many ſufferings! Perfidious love! did'ſt thou only wound me with thy ſhafts, to render me afterwards the unhappy ſport of thy Inconſtancy. A martyr to my love, and a victim to my misfortunes, I ſuffer by turns the cruel tortures of abſence and calumny! who would have thought my innocent affection would coſt me ſo many pains, tears, and ſorrows?

Theſe words, which I uttered pretty loud, drew towards me a ſhepherd, who was lying upon the flowery bed of a ſmall verdant mead, which I had not before obſerved. This man had not underſtood one ſyllable I had ſaid, being quite a ſtranger to the *Italian* tongue; nevertheleſs he approaches me, eyes me attentively, and ſtops. Already had the morning begun to gild the top of the mountains; when ſurprized to ſee ſuch a figure in a place I thought uninhabited, I imagined this alſo was a *Magnoti*; wherefore I ſtart up on a ſudden, fully reſolved to reſiſt him; whoever thou art, ſaid I, in the *Greek* tongue, which I ſpeak tolerably, do not approach me, or thou mayſt chance to repent it. This ſaid, with a maſculine courage, I ſeize on a large ſtick, which had help'd to ſupport me in my journey, and diſplay'd ſo much bravery that he burſt into a laughter. Fear nothing, cry'd the ſhepherd in a friendly voice, I heard your complaints, and only came hither to relieve you. Draw near then, returned I, tell me where I am; what country is this? am I ſtill far from the iſle of *Negropont?* Alas! fair lady, ſaid the *Greek*, you have fallen,

fallen, no doubt, into the hands of the *Magnoti*'s; your condition, beauty, and figure, leave me no room to queſtion your being a perſon of diſtinction, whom thoſe *Banditti* have ſtript; but you ought to hope that Heaven will aſſiſt you.

This road, that you ſee before you, is the bay of *Vatica*; this iſland, that ſhuts it in, is called the iſle of *Cervi*, and the two capes, between which it is ſituated, are thoſe of *Matapan* and *St. Angelo*; which latter is not far from *Cerigo*, formerly the iſland of *Cythera*; and *Cerigo* is the beginning of the *Archipelago*; ſo that you are ſtill at leaſt eight days journey from *Negropont*: But you are not far from *Napoli di Malvoiſia*, where you will undoubtedly meet with relief. You are beautiful, what do I ſay beautiful, you are adorable, inchanting! and the *Aga*, or governor of that city, loves fine women exceſſively; wherefore I don't at all queſtion but he will place you in his *Harem* *; for you will appear to him as you do to me, the moſt incomparable perſon under the heavens, and notwithſtanding your mean and tatter'd habit, one may plainly ſee you are a lady of diſtinction. Vouchſafe, therefore, to go with me to my cottage; we may get thither in a quarter of an hour; and you may there recover yourſelf after your fatigues; which done, I will conduct you to the city.

I muſt confeſs, the ſhepherd's gallantry made me laugh, but nevertheleſs it gave me ſome ſuſpicion of him. This man, ſaid I to myſelf, is no fool; is not he laying ſome ſnare for me? Nevertheleſs, theſe thoughts vaniſhed again, we always love to hear ourſelves flatter'd; this is the great failing of our ſex; and a handſome woman ſeldom pardons it, when one neglects to do her juſtice upon this head; nor can the ladies, who fancy themſelves

* The apartment of the *Turkiſh* women.

ſelves beauties, bear any rivals who ſurpaſs them, and rob them of all their conqueſts.

I determine then upon following the ſhepherd, and in a moment we arrive at his cottage. His mother and ſiſter loaded me with careſſes, and preſented me with ſome milk and ſome fruit, which I then thought exquiſite, for I was exceſſively hungry; in ſhort, within four days that I ſtaid with them, I recovered entirely of the fatigue I had undergone. Their friendſhip ſeem'd to me ſo ſincere, that I was not at all aware of the trick they had premeditated to play me: 'Tis true the *Greeks*, in general, are perfidious, treacherous, wicked and deceitful; but I did not yet know them enough to miſtruſt them ſufficiently.

The fifth day, which I had fixed upon for my departure, the daughter, making me get upon an aſs, conducted me to *Napoli di Malvoiſia*, and carried me to a houſe, which ſeemed to me very ſuſpicious; which done, ſhe left me, as ſhe ſaid, to go buy ſome proviſion, but the traitreſs impoſed on me. She ran immediately to the *Aga*, to whom ſhe ſold me as a ſlave that was fallen into her hands. She made him ſo fine a deſcription of my beauty, that he gave her two hundred chequins for me; judge, then, of my aſtoniſhment, when I ſaw eight *Spahis* enter the houſe where I was, ſeize ſuddenly upon me, and force me with them to the *Seraglio* of that governor. Here all my fortitude forſook me. Oh! heavens! cry'd I, ſhall I every where meet with traitors, and enemies to my repoſe, who will never ceaſe perſecuting me? I fell afterwards into the moſt cruel reflections, and paſſed the night in a flood of ſorrows. Next day, *Mahomet Celebi* (ſo was the *Aga* call'd) came to ſee me. By what right, ſaid I to him fiercely, do you deprive me of liberty? Becauſe you belong to me, anſwered he; the

the *Greek* who brought you hither, and is greatly eſteemed here, ſold you to me for two-hundred chequins, and I have got a receipt in due form. No noiſe, therefore, no haughtineſs, you are my property; prepare then to grant me freely, what I may otherwiſe command by main force.

Thou art miſtaken, *Celebi*, returned I with indignation, never hope to triumph over my virtue; count *Bonneval*'s ſpouſe ſhall never be the victim of thy infamous deſires. Thou, reply'd the *Aga* with ſurprize, the wife of *Baſſa Bonneval!* And how wilt thou prove ſuch a forgery? There, *Celebi*, ſaid I to him, throwing him *Achmet*'s letter with diſdain, read that writing attentively, it will inform thee of the truth. Hereupon, the *Aga*, darting at me looks full of fury, takes up the letter, whoſe author he knew, and peruſes it deliberately; which done, the *Turk*, quite confounded, aſk'd me pardon in ſuch ſubmiſſive terms, that I could not help being moved therewith; and ſtretching out my hand, aſſured him of my perfect friendſhip. Adoreable and virtuous woman, cry'd he, be comforted after your misfortunes; I will alleviate your pains, and ſpare no trouble to reſtore you to your huſband. This ſaid, he orders a number of ſlaves to wait on me with more diligence than himſelf, furniſhes me with rich cloaths, and ſending to ſeize on the perfidious *Greek*, who had ſold me into his hands, places her amongſt his ſlaves. However, ſhe did not remain long there; I begged her liberty ſo earneſtly, that having obtained it in a week after, I ſent her again to her own home.

Meanwhile, the air of diſtinction, with which *Mahomet Celebi* began to treat me, had excited the jealouſy of *Zulemai*, his favorite wife, who was as much afraid of loſing his heart, as I was of gaining it; inſomuch that, after diverting myſelf for ſome days with the prodi-

gious

gious uneaſineſs it gave her, I began to pity her, and endeavoured to baniſh from her mind thoſe wrong notions ſhe had imbibed. But this jealous woman, fancying I had a mind to impoſe upon her, placed about me a perſon who found the means to gain my confidence, in order to be informed of all my ſteps. A young *Georgian*, named *Servia*, offered to ſerve her in this point; and made herſelf ſo much miſtreſs of my good will in a ſhort time, that I no longer concealed any thing from her: But I was deceived in her, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, and her black ingratitude expoſed me to many dangers.

Servia had one of thoſe honeſt countenances, that are capable of impoſing on all mankind; a pleaſing and endearing manner, joined to a quick penetration, and withall, ſuch an artful intermixture of malice and ſincerity that inſpires people with confidence. A behaviour ſo ſeemingly ſincere blinded me, and made me fall into ſnares which I ſhould otherwiſe have avoided; I had the misfortune then to beg her of *Celebi*, to accompany me to *Conſtantinople*, which he was far from denying me. After a ſtay of two months in this houſe, where I had infinite reſpect ſhewn me, the *Aga* made me embark in a *Turkiſh* ſaique, which carried me in ſix days to *Negropont*.

Cherſerberg (for thus was the *Baſſa* of that iſland called) had received ſeveral letters from the *Aga* of *Patras*, ſince my departure from thence. Afflicted at not hearing any thing of me, for the eunuchs, who had forſaken me, took care not to return to him, he had made the ſtricteſt enquiries after me, without being able to get any account what had befallen me; ſo that this generous *Turk*, and his wife, were under an inexpreſſible concern for my ſafety. The *Baſſa* of *Negropont*, therefore, was tranſported with

with boundleſs joy, when news was brought him of my arrival.

He flew quickly to the port, and cry'd out as he addreſs'd me, ah! charming counteſs, what terrible alarms you have cauſed me! I believed you fallen a victim to the *Magnoti*'s, having heard of your misfortune, in lighting into the hands of thoſe profligates; and have ſent, within this month, a conſiderable body of *Spahis*, to deliver you out of that danger: How am I overjoy'd to behold you! The tranſports wherein this man ſeem'd, delighted me greatly; and indeed he left nothing undone to make me forget my misfortunes. He could not hear the account of my melancholy adventures without ſhedding tears; and even ſeemed more moved thereat than myſelf; ſo that I may ſay with ſincerity, I never knew a more perfectly honeſt man: His temper was entirely like that of the *Aga* of *Patras*, and accordingly they had a moſt cordial friendſhip for each other.

His bodily qualifications were entirely anſwerable to thoſe of his mind: He had an eaſy ſhape; a noble air; large black eyes, and full of a ſweet majeſty, ſuch as the God *Mars* is repreſented, when in company with *Venus*. One might obſerve in his countenance I know not what mixture of grandeur and majeſty, that inſpired at the ſame time reſpect and love: This charming *Baſſa*, by his repeated careſſes, retained me with him above four months; ſo that I did not leave that iſland till the thirteenth month after my departure from *Venice*. At laſt, the moment came, when we were obliged to part, which coſt us both abundance of Regret: He had fitted out for me a fine galley, where I was waited on like a queen; but this happineſs was of no long continuance.

We

We had quitted the iſle of *Negropont* in as fine a time as we could wiſh; a weſt ſouth-weſt wind, without being too violent, was nevertheleſs ſtrong enough to make us cut the yielding waves with great ſwiftneſs; and already had we doubled the iſland of *Sciro*, when we were attacked by a large *Malteze* veſſel, carrying above five hundred men, and ſeventy pieces of cannon. About ſixty ſoldiers, which the *Baſſa* had ſpared me for my defence in caſe of any accidents, were not able to hold out long againſt ſuch formidable enemies; accordingly, they did not give themſelves the trouble of putting themſelves in a poſture to oppoſe them, but ſurrendered at the ſecond broadſide.

The commander, having taken me for a *Turkiſh* lady, on account of my dreſs, addreſſed me at firſt with ſome civility, and demanded of me, in the oriental tongues, my name and my quality; but, finding I made no anſwer, he changed his tone, and accoſted me roughly. Nettled at this haughty behaviour, I ſoon made him ſenſible of his inſolence with a briſkneſs that covered him with a kind of confuſion; which it was eaſy for me to perceive by his looks. He then changed his magiſterial ſtyle, and ſpoke to me very graciouſly; whereupon I thought, I ought neither to conceal from him my family, nor the motive of my voyage to *Conſtantinople*. This ſincere acknowledgement threw him into a ſtrange conſternation, and he addreſſed me almoſt in the manner following.

'Madam, your birth, your wit, and your 'merit, are well known to me; but I muſt 'confeſs, your extravagant love gives me 'ſtrange notions of your virtue. For a young per-'ſon of your ſex to expoſe herſelf to all the caprices 'of fortune, to run after an adventurer of the firſt 'rate, this is what may be termed trampling under 'foot the duties both of decency and modeſty.

'Tis

'Tis true, nature, when she brings us into the world, destines our hearts to be united to some other particular person, and till we find out that party, we make certain little trials of others, which take up our thoughts for a longer or shorter time, according as those hearts have more or less conformity with that which is destined for us. But a discreet maiden, endued with virtue, ought always to stifle that sympathy that attracts her inclinations, when the object preferred can only render her the sport of calumny, or the subject of contempt. Now, it is impossible, but you must have judged, that your reputation would suffer infinitely by your love to *Bonneval.*

'Besides, who will be ever persuaded, that the court of *Rome* have consented to your nuptials? Behold yourself, then, exposed to the most cutting and disgraceful invectives of every slanderous tongue; and if we also reflect, that this your supposed husband is an infamous apostate, a wretch who acknowledges no other providence than chance; no sovereign but his own will; no guide but his passions; nor no friends but his vices, what becomes of your honour? Is it not obscured by the blackest clouds of ignominy? Be ruled by me then, and end here your rambles; I am about to conduct you to *Malta*, continue there in tranquility; care shall be taken of you, but never hope to see *Turkey* again; such good measures will be concerted, that all your attempts to escape from thence would be in vain. You belong rightfully to me as my slave; you are a lawful prize; since you declare yourself the wife of a *Turk*, who is our most cruel enemy; but I am far from making use of that authority, I might otherwise claim over your person. I will even shew you such regard, that, perhaps, shall force you to bless Heaven that ever

'you fell into my power.' This ſaid, he goes out of the room, without giving me any time to anſwer him.

This ſermon-like diſcourſe plainly ſhewed me all the horrors of my deſtiny. My mind was ſo troubled at the black epithets wherewith he had loaded my dear count, that I broke looſe from the arms of *Servia*, with deſign to have thrown myſelf headlong into the ſea; but ſuch good orders were iſſued for my preſervation, that, finding all my attempts of this nature would be fruitleſs, I grew more compoſed by degrees. We cannot always get the better of our ſorrows; but as ſoon as we are willing to exert ourſelves, we ſave ourſelves many diſagreeable hours, as I have frequently found ſince that time.

I made then a ſerious reflection upon my paſt conduct, and called my virtue and conſtancy to my aid, inſomuch that my reſolution, at laſt, wearied out my perſecutors. Can we do in this world as we would? No, ſaid I, there is a certain fatality which wiſe men call providence, which prevents or overthrows our deſigns, without our being able to diſcover either how, or wherefore. I acquainted the *Georgian* with all my thoughts, and ſhe approved of all theſe notions: Mean while, ſhe had ſeveral private interviews with the commander, which gave me not the leaſt umbrage, being fully perſuaded of her fidelity; nevertheleſs ſhe deceived me, and even concerted the blackeſt treaſons againſt me, with intent to impoſe on me. She engaged afterwards to make me approve of the commander's paſſion, for that officer, far from practiſing that rigid morality he had preached to me, was neither a man of continence, nor a regular life.

He

He was a perſon of a family of the greateſt diſtinction, and who was beſides endued with fine outward accompliſhments, though he was already arrived at his twelfth *Luſtrum*, but having been apprized, from my infancy, of the licentiouſneſs of theſe kinds of religious, and being alſo exaſperated at the impertinent remonſtrance he had made me without the leaſt ſoftening or regard, I never thought on him but with indignation. Accordingly, I rejected, with diſdain, all thoſe teſtimonies of reſpect he would have ſhown me, to appeaſe my too juſt reſentment: In a word, I treated him with ſo much ſcorn, that he not only reſolved to give over his purſuit, but alſo to puniſh me with exceſſive ſeverity.

Meantime, *Servia*, who had only approved of his paſſion, with the thought of inſpiring him with love to herſelf, managed his temper and mine ſo artfully, that ſhe eaſily triumphed over his heart: And indeed that heart was very apt to take fire. I ſhould have wiſh'd her joy of her conqueſt, had ſhe had more regard for my honour and reputation; but the perfidious *Georgian*, ſeeing him extremely incenſed againſt, and being nevertheleſs apprehenſive, this ſtorm would ſoon be laid by my complaiſance, inſinuated to him that I was far from cruel, but had ſo great an averſion for *Chriſtians*, he would never be able to gain my good-will. This done, ſhe gave him account of my regard for the *Aga* of *Napoli di Malvoiſia*, and the *Baſſa* of *Negrepont*, with the moſt outragious aggravations.

Can you believe, ſaid ſhe, theſe *Turks* loaded her with ſuch honours, without her having been touch'd thereby? No, my lord, I have been a witneſs to their amours, and the innocent affection ſhe pretends is only a mere *chimæra*. She then forged a ſtory of my intrigues with thoſe *Muſſelmen*, in

terms ſo full of exaggerations, that the commander, from that hour, looked on me only as an infamous wretch, unworthy of the regard of a man of the leaſt delicacy: Accordingly, he gave me ſuch frequent cauſes of affliction, that I was at the laſt gaſp.

I was apprized of all theſe circumſtances by a *French Chevalier*, who being one of his friends, was witneſs to all their converſations; but he could not let me know this till nine months after my arrival at *Malta*. At firſt, he had been impoſed on by her, as well as the commander, but he ſoon diſcovered the falſity of all theſe aſperſions; and could not ſee, without concern, that I ſtill retained a friendſhip for this unworthy creature; and this it was induced him, at laſt, to reveal this myſtery of iniquity, which I could not hear without ſhuddering.

The ſame motives which had prompted the *Georgian* to blacken me in the commander's opinion, incited her alſo to protect me from the rigour with which he had reſolved to puniſh me; and herein we may ſee the odd effects of ſo ſingular a character. The commander, exaſperated againſt me, had deſigned to deliver me over to the tribunal of the inquiſition, as an apoſtate; whereupon ſhe had recourſe to the influence both of her careſſes, tears, and interceſſions, to ward off that blow; ſo that he favour'd me ſo far, as to have me only confined in a convent; from whence I never ſtirr'd out, till nine months after; and that alſo, by the freſh artifices of the ſame creature, and for the reaſons following.

The commander had, in this iſland, a miſtreſs, who ſurpaſſed *Servia* both in beauty and merit; her rage therefore, at being forced to truckle to the will of this fair-one, made the *Georgian* reſolve to be revenged on her, by cauſing me to ſupplant her. She

She did not at all doubt (judging me by herſelf) but that, to deliver myſelf from my melancholy condition, I ſhould willingly ſubmit to an unlawful paſſion.

She knew the commander, notwithſtanding her having prejudiced him againſt me, ſtill retained a fancy for me; wherefore ſhe never ſcrupled aſſuring him, the rigorous puniſhment I had undergone had diſpoſed me entirely to liſten to him favourably. What was, then, my ſurprize, on being taken, on a ſudden, out of the monaſtery, and lodged in a magnificent apartment. Struck with this unhoped-for change, I aſked *Servia* the reaſon, with the greateſt eagerneſs; for it was ſhe who came to acquaint me with this agreeable news, and fetched me from my confinement: Till then I had been a ſtranger to her ſituation, and falſly imagined ſhe was in ſlavery.

She did not delay acquainting me with the cauſe of my good fortune, accompanying her relation with inexpreſſible endearments; and I heard the propoſals, ſhe had undertaken to make me, with a diſorder, which ſhe aſcribed to a pleaſure, the more lively, as it was unforeſeen. Her miſtake, however, was advantagious to me, ſo I reſolved to turn it to my own account. From that moment, I began to ſuſpect her inſincerity; wherefore, I concealed my deſpair from her diſcovery, and took a courſe which ſaved me, and procured me my liberty.

Servia, ſaid I, aſſure the commander, I am ſenſibly moved by the return of his friendſhip, but let him give me time to come to a reſolution; and to recover from thoſe cutting afflictions he has occaſioned me. It is not eaſy to make a ſudden tranſition from reſentment to love, and my heart will never ſurrender without being affected; it is

his part, then, to inſpire that affection, by his reſpect, little ſervices, and complaiſance. She was charmed to ſee me, in appearance ſo favourably diſpoſed, in hopes of being ſoon able to puniſh her rival.

The commander, on my arrival at *Malta*, in order to ſecure himſelf from the reproaches his unworthy behaviour deſerved, and alſo to puniſh me, without its being in the power of any one to alleviate my misfortunes, had cauſed me to be convey'd, during the night, to the monaſtery, and had given ſuch ſtrict orders not to let me ſpeak to any one, that it was impoſſible for me to take any one ſtep towards breaking my chains; but, as ſoon as he had ſet me at liberty, I reſolved to venture every thing to ſave myſelf from this ſhameful ſlavery.

The *French Chevalier*, who was in the veſſel that took my galley, was the firſt to render me a viſit. His civility and reſpect had already made an impreſſion upon me; I ventured, therefore, to unboſom my heart to him, begging him, at the ſame time, to take upon him the trouble of giving a petition from me, to the grand maſter of the order. My confidence in *de Souvre* (ſo was this *Chevalier* called) was not fruitleſs. Being moved yet more by my tears, he ſympathized with my ſufferings, and acquainted me with *Servia*'s baſe character, recommending ſecrecy to me at the ſame time.

This wretch, continued he, is only here as a ſpy upon your actions and behaviour; you owe your liberty only to her jealouſy; in a word, he diſplayed to me, with ſuch energy, the perfidy of that creature, that I reſolved to deliver myſelf into the hand of this generous *Chevalier*. Amiable *de Souvre*, cry'd I, pity my ſorrows, promiſe to aſſiſt me, and be aſſured of all my eſteem, and of the moſt

moſt lively gratitude. Do not abandon me; I ſtand upon ſlippery ground; and ſee all the horrors of the precipice, from which I am ready to fall headlong; vouchſafe then to protect my virtue.

Counteſs, anſwered he, theſe words are uttered by too fair a mouth to fail of taking effect. Your fine eyes, drowned in tears, have the power not only to move but to perſuade me. Do you want proofs of the ſincerity of my proteſtations, I am ready to give you ſome ſo ſingular, and ſo real, that, at the ſame time, in ſo doing, I ſhall deliver up my whole fortune to your diſcretion. I am an enemy to all injuſtice, I abhor the exceſſes of the commander, and a number of other perſons of his temper, whoſe irregular conduct reflects diſhonour upon a venerable order. Yes, madam, I will break your chains, and conduct you wherever you ſhall think proper; but let us firſt try more gentle means.

You muſt caſt yourſelf at the feet of the grand maſter; he is a nobleman of great humanity and charity; and your charming looks will make more impreſſion upon his heart, than all the moſt expreſſive petitions. I will procure you a ſecret interview with him, and will ſpeak to him in terms, which, I hope, will engage him to protect you; and, if this ſtep ſhould fail of ſucceſs, I will hazard my life freely to put an end to the unjuſt perſecutions with which they ſo cruelly oppreſs you. But diſſemble artfully, gain the good-will of the commander by feeding him with ſoothing hopes, and rely upon me for every thing elſe. Farewel, counteſs, I only leave you to ſee you again ſoon, a longer converſation, at this time, would be ſuſpected; I am going to endeavour to procure you a favourable audience.

The artful *Servia* happening to come into the room the moment after the knight went out, and ſeeing me extremely moved, aſked me eagerly the reaſon of it; and had recourſe to her uſual wiles, namely, tears, and careſſes, to worm my ſecret out of me, but all her attempts were vain; ſhe was forced to content herſelf with a dry anſwer; which was alſo a little too haughty. Nettled at this way of behaviour, the wretch took the liberty to inveigh againſt me, and induced the commander to redouble his perſecutions; ſcarce could I enjoy one hour's quiet; and it is certain, had it not been for the advice of the *Chevalier de Souvre*, I ſhould have proceeded to the laſt extremities. Meanwhile, his generous proteſtations plunged me into that kind of ſtupefaction, which is neither attended with pleaſure nor pain; for if, on one hand, I flatter'd myſelf with being ſoon at liberty, by his means, I was afraid, on the other, that this undertaking would draw the too generous *de Souvre* into ſome troubleſome inconveniences. This uneaſineſs, being joined with my gratitude, began to melt me down into tears, when I received a note from that *Chevalier*, to acquaint me, the *Grand Maſter* would ſoon be with me, and in a quarter of an hour after he arrives.

It may be eaſily judged, that this news cauſed me ſome tranſports and raptures; which hope did not fail to heighten with its moſt pleaſing charms, and ſelf-love with its moſt flattering deluſions. In effect, I was not deceived; the *Grand Maſter* enters, I fly, as light as the wind, and fall at his feet, he raiſes me up, views me attentively, ſtretches out his hand to me, and aſſures me of his utmoſt protection. Hereupon, I gave him a ſincere account of all my adventures; and the tears that fell from his eyes, and which he could not refrain, were a kind

kind of ſure preſage of my approaching triumph: In effect, he ſeem'd ſo much moved with my misfortunes, that he had me conducted, that moment, to his palace, where I was treated like a queen.

The commander being exaſperated hereat, and beginning to grow refractory, and to uſe the *Chevalier de Souvre* ill, he was put under an arreſt till after my departure: And, as for *Servia*, ſhe was condemned to a rigorous ſlavery for the reſt of her days. So much goodneſs had affected me with the moſt lively gratitude, and had put me in a ſituation altogether agreeable; nevertheleſs, my joy was a little abated by the following diſcourſe, which the *Grand Maſter* made me the third day after my being with him.

'Counteſs, ſaid he to me, it is againſt my will 'if I do not ſatisfy all your deſires; but I cannot, 'without ſullying my honour, and breaking the ſa'cred vows I have made at the foot of the altar, 'permit you to go into *Turkey* to re-join your ſpouſe. 'You muſt be ſenſible, ſuch a condeſcenſion would 'draw upon me the juſteſt reproaches; but I will 'have you conducted to *Venice*. There you may 'concert meaſures conformable to your inclinations. 'I have ordered the *Chevalier de Souvre* to get a 'galley prepared to carry you thither; you may 'yourſelf fix the time of your departure.'

He had ſcarce acquainted me with this agreeable news, but I diſpoſed myſelf to ſet out; fully convinced, that the generous *de Souvre* would not refuſe to ſet me aſhore at *Cephalonia*, I flatter'd myſelf, that I ſhould ſtill ſoon ſee *Conſtantinople*. Scarce had I made him this propoſal, when he anſwer'd very low, at *Conſtantinople*, if you deſire it: In ſhort, I ſet out from *Malta* eleven months after my arrival at that iſland.

As

As ſoon as we had loſt ſight of land, the *Chevalier de Souvre*, inſtead of ſteering for the gulph of *Venice*, made them tack about, and ſtand for the *Barbary*-ſhore, on pretence of giving chace to a corſair, who had been ſeen upon thoſe coaſts. We had held a little council of war together, wherein friendſhip and gratitude acted their parts admirably well: The reſult of the *Chevalier*, had been to conduct me to *Aleppo*; and the reaſons which induced him hereto ſeem'd to be perſuaſive. There, ſaid he, counteſs, you will find caravans, which ſet out twice a year for *Arabia*, and it will be eaſy to get your letters convey'd to count *Bonneval:* The *Aga* of *Aleppo* will pride himſelf in protecting you, and ſupplying all your wants. I am not rich, nevertheleſs I have managed ſo, as to gather up about three thouſand chequins to aſſiſt you. This is but a loan, however, madam, continues he (ſeeing plainly, by my looks, I ſhould be far from accepting this ſum) I hope to ſee you again; and then I will ſummons you to return me the trifles I do for you.

Chevalier, cry'd I, tranſported with admiration, theſe are admirable ſchemes, and moſt indubitable proofs of your friendſhip and generoſity; but allow me, if you pleaſe, not to accept of this money: I have ſtill three fine diamonds, which may help to ſupport me. I alſo refuſe ſtedfaſtly to agree to your carrying me to *Aleppo*; this would be expoſing you, not only to loſe your fortune, but alſo your liberty and your life. The evident danger does not at all daunt you; your friendſhip would brave the greateſt dangers to ſerve me; it is my part, therefore, to oppoſe your deſigns. Land me in the iſle of *Candia*, the *Aga* of *Canea* is my huſband's intimate friend, I do not in the leaſt queſtion but he will ſhew me ſome regard. The deſign you form to convey me to *Aleppo*, is neither practicable, nor

even

even prudent; your ſtrength is not ſufficient to oppoſe your enemies; it would be wantonly expoſing you to loſe your galley and your liberty: In ſhort, if you would oblige me, you muſt deſiſt from this dangerous enterprize.

In vain were my prayers, in vain my remonſtrances; the *Chevalier de Souvre* would carry his point, and brave the *Turks*, even in the midſt of their dominions; but an accident rendered him unable to execute this hazardous deſign. Already, for above a fortnight, had we purſued our voyage with the weather extremely favourable; already did we ſee the iſle of *Candia*, and, in ſhort, were not above eight leagues from thence when we perceiv'd a corſair of *Algiers*.

The *Chevalier*, far from avoiding it, crowds all his ſails to come up with it; attacks it with the utmoſt intrepidity, and, within a quarter of an hour, he diſables it from continuing the combat. As the enemy had ſtruck, the firing ceaſed on both ſides, and I mount upon deck, in hopes to ſave the lives of ſome unfortunate ſlaves. I approached the *Chevalier*, then, to congratulate him upon his victory; whereupon, being terrify'd at ſeeing me ſo much expoſed, he takes me by the hand to lead me to my chamber. That inſtant, a muſket-ball comes from I know not whence, which ſhatters one of his ſhoulders, and falls dead into my ſleeve. This fatal ſhot throws him to the ground, and renders him incapable of iſſuing his orders.

In deſpair at this unforeſeen accident, I have him carried into the great cabbin, and immediately order the officers to bear off, and conduct me to *Canea*, where we arrived within four hours after. Our retreat ſaved the corſair, who came to refit in the ſame port. The chirurgeon found the *Chevalier*'s wound very dangerous; and, indeed, had it not

not been for his youth, his days had then been at an end. I muſt confeſs his misfortune threw me into a great perplexity. I eſteem'd him infinitely; for, beſides a thouſand amiable qualities that ſhined out in his perſon, he had done me too important ſervices, for me not to be extremely afflicted at this diſaſter.

True friendſhip proceeds from the heart, as well as love; but it is more gentle, and more compoſed; and the *Chevalier* had ſuch a large fund of honour, greatneſs of ſoul, diſcretion and modeſty, as had render'd him extremely dear to me. I aſſiſted the chirurgeon then, with no ſmall concern, to take off the firſt dreſſings, and the wound was found in a good ſtate; which news allay'd a little my uneaſineſs.

As ſoon as the *Aga* of *Canea* was informed of my arrival, he came immediately to welcome me, and forced me to accept of a lodging in his houſe: Being apprized alſo of the obligations I had to the *Chevalier*, he cauſed him to be removed into a chamber adjoining to mine, that I might be at hand to do him all the ſervice I could. My officious care of him contributed not a little to his recovery; inſomuch that his health was perfectly reeſtabliſhed in ſix weeks, and he was in a condition to put out again to ſea.

He uſed infinite endeavours to engage me to accept of his offers, but I was far from willing to expoſe him to new dangers, which he certainly could never have ſurmounted. *Muſtapha Babari* (for ſo was the *Aga* called) repreſented alſo unto him the hazardous conſequences; and even intreated him earneſtly to quit the port of *Canea* as ſoon as poſſible, being apprehenſive leſt ſome *Turkiſh* veſſels ſhould arrive every moment, and make themſelves maſters of his galley: The *Aga*'s inſtances, together

ther with mine, induced him, at laſt, to determine upon leaving me.

It would be very hard to deſcribe here the lively grief of the *Chevalier*; my tender friendſhip alſo was put to a ſevere trial, to reſtrain itſelf within the bounds of decency. It may be eaſily judged, that our adieus were moving; I am going then, without you, adorable counteſs, ſaid he, my ſorrow is very great; and it is only moderated by the hopes of ſeeing you again: Let me hear from you then frequently, I beſeech you; it is a favour you cannot deny, either to my friendſhip, or reſpect.

Take comfort, too generous *Chevalier*, anſwer'd I, and be more compoſed; reſt aſſured, I ſhall never forget you: Here my ſighs and tears interrupt my ſpeech; and *de Souvre*, deeply affected with my lively gratitude, ſlips away in an inſtant, haſtens to the port, and ſets ſail. I have had an opportunity ſince to requite him for his goodneſs, by rendering him ſome ſignal ſervices: Count *Bonneval* will inform you of this incident, in the account of his adventures.

To return from whence I have digreſs'd, *Muſtapha Babari* had diſpatched away two expreſſes, one to *Aleppo*, and the other to *Conſtantinople*, immediately after my arrival. The latter carried letters from the *Aga*, to inform the *Porte*, that I was under his care; the former was charged with others, containing all the particulars of my misfortunes, which the *Aga* of *Aleppo* was to forward to my huſband in *Arabia*; ſo that it was neceſſary I ſhould make myſelf eaſy till the return of theſe expreſſes, who were to bring back the anſwers thereto. Eight months did I wait in expectation of theſe, without receiving any; becauſe there had happened an inſurrection at *Conſtantinople*, which had driven *Achmet* III. from the throne, and almoſt all the principal officers of the

the *Porte* had been ſacrificed to the reſentment of the *Janizaries*. But as he was again reſtored thereto pretty ſoon, and the reign of his brother *Soliman* was but ſhort, *Achmet* ſent orders to have me removed to the *Porte*, and at the ſame time remanded *Baſſa Bonneval* home.

Meanwhile, notwithſtanding the *Aga* of *Canea* left nothing undone to diſpel my trouble, the ſeverity of my fortune plunged me into a melancholy under which I ſunk at laſt. I fell ſick, and this ſickneſs almoſt brought me to the grave, but the three fatal ſiſters, whom I called to my aid, being deaf to my complaint, would not cut the thread of my days: At the end of two months I recovered my ſtrength, and was ſoon in a condition to reliſh the ſweets of an agreeable ſpring.

The iſland of *Candia* is, undoubtedly, a moſt delicious place of reſidence, but it is no longer that famous *Crete*, which formed formerly one of the moſt powerful kingdoms of ancient *Greece*; nor yet that populous and fertile country, which was one of the richeſt dependencies of the *Venetian* republic: All its glory and ſplendour are vaniſhed, ſince it fell under the *Turkiſh* yoke. One ſees now ſcarce any thing but fields for the moſt part uncultivated, and villages conſiſting of ſorry cottages, with ruinated cities, without fortreſſes and defenceleſs. The *Turks*, quite careleſs about repairs have ſuffered, all the fine monuments of antiquity, and the moſt beautiful edifices, to fall to ruin; one ſees every where large pieces of marble, porphyry, jaſper, and other valuable ſtones, lying in heaps; theſe are the melancholy remains of the once flouriſhing *Crete*: It is now only a confuſed and melancholy repreſentation of its paſt grandeur and affluence.

Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs, one is comforted for the mortifying *cataſtrophe* which theſe objects recall to one's mind, by the pleaſing delights one meets with in this admirable iſland. The pure and ſerene air one there breathes, with thoſe vaſt plains, where the wild and other thyme, with ſweet marjoram, and a thouſand other odoriferous plants, grow in profuſion, delight the ſmell ſo agreeably, and are diverſified with ſuch a beautiful variety of colours, that one ſcarce knows how to leave theſe lonely wilds. The orange, lemon, citron, and other trees of the ſame kind, which grow there without cultivating, form likewiſe, by their verdant foliage, ſilver flowers, and golden fruit, ſo lovely a contraſt, ſuch a charming landſchape, ſuch variegated ſhades, that the ſight is raviſhed therewith. The ſomewhat ſtrong odour, of theſe trees ſo delightful to the eye, is moderated by the refreſhing ſcent of the aromatic herbs; and this kind of confuſion of perfumes, drawn together by the *Zephyrs*, is wafted upon their wings even to the diſtance of ten leagues off upon the ſeas; ſo that one may ſmell this enchanting iſland before one can diſcover it by the ſight.

In theſe delightful groves, I uſed continually to indulge the echoes of my mournful complaints. *Muſtapha Babari* had a magnificent country-ſeat upon the ſea-coaſt; thither I retired, together with ſome ſlaves, to employ my thoughts wholly about my dear count. There, my ſorrows being ſuſpended by the harmonious ſtrains of the nightingales, and the plaintive cooings of the conſtant turtles, I borrowed their ſeveral notes by turns.

Sometimes, animated by hope, I ſung the courage of the virtuous *Penelope*; ſometimes, overwhelmed with melancholy, I ſigh'd like the forſaken *Ariadne*; ſometimes, in ſhort, a kind of ſtupefaction

ſtupefaction ſucceeding, on a ſudden, to both joy and grief, I viewed, with an indifferent eye, a number of veſſels, which formed an admirable proſpect, and which cut the briny waves with as much velocity as the ſparrow glides through the yielding air. One day the limpid ſtreams appeared as ſmooth and tranſparent as the poliſh'd glaſs; another, its mounting ſurges ſeem'd to threaten the very heavens, and to raiſe up the dancing veſſels to the middle region of the air, only to precipitate them again, with the more, impetuoſity in the bottomleſs abyſs. Such were the innocent pleaſures I enjoyed in this charming ſolitude, till the return of the expreſs, the *Aga* had ſent to *Conſtantinople*.

The favourable news this meſſenger of peace brought me, made me look upon him as a tutelary angel, ſent by Heaven, in compaſſion of my ſufferings. Scarce could I allow *Muſtapha Bahari* ſufficient time to prepare the things neceſſary for my embarkation; nor could he moderate my lively impatience, but by his giving me daily continual aſſurances of my ſpeedy departure: Nevertheleſs, it was ſtill about four weeks, before the veſſels could be got ready, that were to carry me to the *Porte*. At laſt, behold me at ſea; the happy moment, of my re-union with my dear count, is at hand; all my misfortunes are about to terminate very ſoon; I have nothing now to relate, but what is agreeable; in ſix weeks I ſhall be at *Conſtantinople*; and in three months I ſhall have the ſweet conſolation to be in the dear embraces of my tender huſband.

I embark'd on board a light frigate, mounting forty guns, and convoyed by two galleys, carrying three hundred ſoldiers, who were determined to ſee me ſafe through all dangers whatever. This ſtrong

ſtrong convoy were to guard me as far as *Tenedos*; a briſk *ſouth* wind filling our ſails, made us double the iſle of *Milo*, the fourth day after our departure; and on the ſixth we caſt anchor at *Andros*. The wind being turned on a ſudden to N. N E. in vain did I endeavour to perſuade the commander of the frigate to keep the ſea: 'The weather is 'too boiſterous, illuſtrious woman ſaid he, to ex- 'poſe your life; my head will be in danger, if I 'don't take care both of your ſafety and health.'

After a three days ſtay at this iſland, we again ſet ſail. Fine weather, the wind at S W. the waves grow white, with the rake of our veſſels, through the fluid plains; we ran with incredible velocity, the iſlands only met our eyes to diſappear again in an inſtant; the twentieth day we anchor'd before the fortreſs of *Tenedos*. Heavens! cried I then out with tranſports, behold me now ſafe out of all perils, and ſecure from all the attempts of my enemies.

During my abode at the iſland of *Candia*, I had employed myſelf in learning the *Turkiſh* language; an old *Venetian* female ſlave, whereof *Muſtapha Babari* made me a preſent, and who had been long in the country, gave me ſuch conſtant inſtructions for three months, that, at the end of that time, I I could ſpeak it well enough to expreſs myſelf with eaſe. This unfortunate woman, who was endued with admirable qualifications, was never from me a moment; and as ſhe had lived a conſiderable time at *Conſtantinople*, and was perfectly well acquainted with the *Turkiſh* manners, ſhe gave me alſo very ſalutary inſtructions concerning my conduct.

The governor of *Tenedos* paid me the ſame honours as a favourite *Sultana*; he not only viſited me with great reſpect, during the eight days I ſtaid in thoſe parts, but alſo ſent three of his wives to keep

me company. They were indeed beautiful, but their behaviour ſeem'd to me ſo looſe, that I did not think it proper to give way to all their careſſes; nevertheleſs, I yielded ſo far to their ſollicitations, to take a view of the iſland, and to croſs over to *Aſia*, which is but an hour's paſſage, to ſee the remains of the celebrated *Troy*, ſo highly extolled by the poets; but did not find any thing worthy my attention.

Tenedos alſo is but a poor place; the caſtle, built upon a neck of land, that is at the end of the iſland, is but a wretched tower, without ditches, and fortified with only two or three ſmall pieces of cannon. The city, or rather the town, which is on the ſide of a little eminence, forms a kind of amphitheatre, diverſified prettily enough, by reaſon of the different colours with which the houſes are painted; but otherwiſe, there is not one building that can be called paſſable. Their *Muſcadine* wines however, are exquiſite, and in great plenty; the *Aga* ſent me a number of flaggons, which I diſtributed amongſt the poor chriſtian ſlaves, who were in the *Turkiſh* galleys.

As ſoon as we had left *Tenedos*, we entered the mouth of the ſtreights of the *Dardanelles*; the four caſtles, which guard theſe ſtreights, are far from being impregnable; for it is certain ſix good men of war, fitted out by any of the *Chriſtian* princes, would make themſelves maſter of them in leſs than twenty-four hours; though the two firſt indeed ſeem better built, than thoſe that are thought to be placed upon the ruins of *Seſtos*, and *Abydos*. Here *Aſia* and *Europe* ſeem to join each other, the coaſts on each ſides of theſe ſtreights are perfectly inchanting; and one may ſay that nature has taken a pleaſure in diverſifying the objects.

The

The little ſhelving hills, with which they are bounded in, as far as the ſea of *Marmora*, or *Helleſpont*, are all cultivated, and planted with fine trees of all ſorts. There are pleaſant villages, large open vineyards, and vaſt meadows, enamelled with a thouſand different flowers, beſides fine gardens with terraſs-walks. Here are tall cypreſſes, whoſe ſummits touch the clouds; there fig, olive, and other kinds of fruit-trees, planted, in a manner, one above another: Can a more beautiful amphitheatre be ſeen under the copes of heaven? I believe not.

When we were arrived over-againſt the ſecond caſtle, the *Aga*'s being informed of my paſſage, fired the prodigious cannon of theſe two fortreſſes; the balls are of ſtone, and weigh each of them four hundred pounds. I ſhould certainly have excuſed this compliment very willingly, for the repeated diſcharges of theſe terrible engines, cauſed ſuch a dreadful thundering, that I thought it would have coſt me my hearing; I was ſo much ſtunn'd for above ſix hours, that I was ſcarce able to bear myſelf.

It would be very difficult to make a natural deſcription of the ſides of theſe ſtreights, from the *Dardanelles*, to the *Black-Sea*; the country ſeemed to me perfectly like a ſcene of inchantment. We ſtopt a while at *Gallipoli*, and at the iſle of *Marmora*, ſituated in the midſt of the *Helleſpont*; in ſhort, we were ten days in getting up theſe ſtreights, which obliged us to caſt anchor almoſt every inſtant.

If I was ſtruck with admiration, at the firſt ſight of the lovely objects which border upon this narrow channel, my ſenſes were in a manner dazzled, when I could take a view of *Conſtantinople* at a proper diſtance. After leaving *Marmora* we ſtood off and on, upon the *Aſian* ſide, to avoid the currents, and we coaſted the iſland of *Princes*; ſo that, at ſun-riſe,

I could have a full proſpect, of that part of this great city, that extends from the caſtle of the *Seven Towers*, to the corner of the *Seraglio*. The bright glorious rays, which the luminary of the day, darted upon the golden roofs of the moſques, and upon the houſes painted with divers colours, built as it were one above another; and the higheſt of which, ſeemed again beneath thoſe upon the riſing-grounds of *Pera*, form'd I know not what ſo extraordinary, that all my ſenſes were in a manner ſuſpended.

This charming proſpect gave me a high notion of *Conſtantinople*; and the nearer I drew thereto, the more was I raviſhed with the new objects that offered themſelves to my view. The *Seraglio*, above all, took up my whole attention: thoſe vaſt and magnificent gardens with terras-walks, and intermingled with variety of fine trees, groves, bowers and divers fountains, whoſe ſpouting waters mount up higher than the eye can reach, ſome in sheaves, others in pyramids, ſome in creſcents, others in arrows, and others again in the ſhape of turbans; afforded the fineſt and moſt uncommon aſſemblage of dazzling objects, that imagination can form; but I am almoſt at the high walls of this vaſt palace, which conceal from me all theſe beauties: already I double the point of the *Seraglio*, and am now at the harbour.

Never was I ſenſible of a more lively pleaſure, than when I ſaw myſelf ſafe arrived at this proud capital of the *Ottoman* empire. In effect, a magnificent houſe had been there prepared for me, where I not only found all neceſſary conveniences, but alſo ſix black eunuchs, and three female ſlaves to attend me. All the great officers of the *Porte* haſtened to viſit me; and *Achmet* III. himſelf ſent me the *Boſtangi-Bachi*, to aſſure me of his protection.

The

The favourite ſultaneſs, and the chief of the white eunuchs made me rich preſents; the *Mufti* himſelf, though this was contrary to cuſtom, vouchſafed to honour me with his company; but it was to perſuade me to emulate the heroic action, done as he ſaid by my huſband, in embracing *Mahometiſm.*

Theſe pathetic exhortations charmed me, but they did not perſuade me. His morals were ſound and ſevere; I agreed with him upon this head; but his points of faith did not ſeem to be corroborated with proofs, ſufficiently convincing to determine me. If he ſupported his dignity honourably, by an exemplary life, he ſullied it a little by his Ignorance; for I am well aſſured a *Chriſtian* youth, who had ever ſo ſmall an inſight into his own religion, would eaſily have retorted all his arguments upon himſelf. Nevertheleſs, as I had great meaſures to keep, I diſſembled ſo artfully upon this head, that he believed me already a zealous *Mahometan:* however, it was impoſſible for me to continue altogether ſilent, and I ventured to make an objection, which ſeemed not a little to perplex him.

But ſaid I, ſublime and moſt venerable ſupport of the *Alcoran*, illuſtrious ſucceſſor of the great prophet *Mahomet*, of what advantage will it be to me, to embrace your law, if my ſoul is mortal and incapable of enjoying any happineſs, after this life? You are perſuaded, that all women were created only to be ſubſervient to mankind, in their voluptuous and effeminate pleaſures. I have nothing to hope for, in the paradiſe the prophet has promiſed to the true believers. Can I, to embrace a religion, which degrades me to the level of beaſts, forſake one, which promiſes me eternal happineſs, and infinite delights after my death? Which aſſures me I have an immortal ſoul, like that of Man, created by the moſt high, and that this ſoul ſhall be re-united to

its principle, and ſhall enjoy the comforts of a perfect beatitude? This hope, which incites me to virtue, is too pleaſing, to change it for a total extinction of my exiſtence; I appeal to your own judgment, O! moſt inlightened head of the law.

You give me, anſwered this venerable old man, an occaſion to praiſe the Almighty, who is your God as well as mine, for having endued you with ſo much wiſdom. Be aſſured, O! illuſtrious woman, there are but a very ſmall number of true believers, who have this notion of your ſex; the moſt High, who diſtributes to all that live, the light of the ſun and due nouriſhment, has beſtowed on you the ſoul of a man; undoubtedly he has deſtined you to be one of thoſe divine *Houri's* *, who conſtitute the happineſs of the Paradiſe of our admirable prophet; your incomparable beauty induces me to think ſo: Wherefore hope, that if *Munket* and *Nekir* †, after their ſevere examination, judge you worthy of that delicious recompenſe of eternity, you will be the favourite ſultaneſs, of one of our holy emperors. Farewell too worthy ſpouſe, of an illuſtrious *Baſſa*, whom I honour. This ſaid, he took his leave, after wiſhing me a thouſand bleſſings.

I muſt confeſs this pompous fuſtian helped me to paſs away ſome very agreeable moments; but the *Kaimakan*, who was by whilſt the *Muſti* made me this ſublime diſcourſe, could not avoid ſhrugging up his ſhoulders thereat; and told me, after this high prieſt was gone, counteſs, I perceive the learning of our *Muſti*, will never perſuade you of the truth of our religion; he is a holy man, but too ſcrupulous to be a preacher. Do not imagine that all *Mahometans* are fools, and void of common ſenſe: do you really believe it is my opinion, that the

* The virgins of *Mahomet's* Paradiſe.

† Two angels who examine the dead, and who puniſh or reward them according to their works.

the ſouls of women are mortal? 'Tis true, the ſex are here brought up in theſe groſs notions, in order to render them more complying and ſubmiſſive to the orders of their huſbands: And you may eaſily judge, that moſt women, though perſuaded of the contrary, willingly blind themſelves upon this head, and take advantage of this notion of the ſoul's mortality, to plunge themſelves into all ſenſuality, for which they have a moſt violent inclination. I have no hopes, ſays a woman, of another life, I muſt therefore make the moſt I can of this. Accordingly they lay hold on all opportunities, with an unparallelled eagerneſs, which borders almoſt upon fury.

Do you alſo imagine, O! virtuous woman that the intelligent *Turks*, are of the opinion of our *Mufti*, concerning the Paradiſe, our prophet promiſes to good men? Alas! no, it is a metaphor in the *Alcoran*, and one, which *Mahomet* did not intend ſhould be underſtood literally; but being acquainted with the temper of the *Arabians*, he knew that nation were extreamly addicted to luſt, and to other ſenſual pleaſures; wherefore he thought he muſt flatter thoſe ignorant wretches, by promiſing them rewards, that were ſuitable to their inordinate deſires; to the end he might draw them on, by little and little, to obedience, and the practice of the moral virtues; but the ſenſible *Muſſulmen*, reject with indignation theſe ſhameful notions, and form to themſelves an Idea of the future State, that is more abſtracted from matter. They make eternal happineſs conſiſt in the enjoyment of God alone; in a word, they think upon this head altogether like the *Chriſtians*.

O! ſage *Addin*, cried I, for ſo was the *Kaimakan* called, how much it were to be wiſhed, that you were to be promoted to the dignity of this venerable old father? You would give mankind ſuch no-

tions of religion as they ought to have; and then it would appear ſo reaſonable, that the *Chriſtians* would eaſily be undeceived, as to thoſe falſe prepoſſeſſions they have imbibed againſt the *Alcoran*.

The infinite honours that were ſhown me every day, quite baniſhed the remembrance of my paſt diſaſters; I had no longer any uneaſineſs, but for my huſband. The *Aga* of *Aleppo* had written me word within two days, that Baſſa *Bonneval* was arrived at his houſe, exceſſively fatigued with a march of twenty days, and that he had delivered him all my letters, containing an account of my misfortunes.

Let us clear up this ſhort, and laſt part of my ſtory. Count *Bonneval* had not received my letters for three years; thoſe, which the *Aga* of *Aleppo* had tranſmitted after him to *Arabia*, were brought back again, by the meſſenger that governor had diſpatched. He had neither been able to find my ſpouſe, nor yet to hear what was become of him: He had undertaken a journey to *Mecca*, *incognito*.

My ſilence, he ſaid, did not much trouble him, for he judged very eaſily it would be hard to convey letters to him at ſuch a diſtance, only by ſome travellers, who might be ſtript by the *Arabs*. Theſe thoughts gave him ſome little conſolation; whereof love, when uneaſy, has no ſmall need to prevent its degenerating into deſpair. It was not therefore this ſilence that afflicted him, but the infamous accuſations that had been forged againſt my reputation and honour; and his reflections upon this head, had reduced him to a moſt wretched condition, and had cauſed him the moſt cutting ſorrows.

The *Aga* of *Aleppo* had perceived plainly at his arrival, that his melancholy was not in the leaſt diminiſhed; wherefore he reſolved immediately to deliver him from ſo cruel a ſituation. He had in his hands all the writings, wherein was the juſtification

of

of my conduct and innocence, together with a faithful account of all the circumstances, that had induced the wicked *Barnetti* to blacken me in the opinion of my husband. Two illustrious senators of the republic of *Venice*, who were the count's intimate friends, had written him so faithful a relation of my behaviour whilst in that city, that it was impossible he should not yield to such proofs.

In effect, his surprize, both upon reading the letters of these two noble *Venetians*, and mine, wherein I gave him a sincere, but moving description of my cruel misfortunes, made so great an impression upon his spirits, that he was seized, on a sudden, with a stupefaction not to be described. It was a kind of lethargic state, wherein one is neither sensible of pleasure nor pain; but, coming at length a little to himself, he has since confessed to me, that he made a sudden transition, from the most excessive grief and languor, to the most lively joy and transports. Whereupon, embracing the *Aga*, 'My 'dear friend said he, you have given me a second 'life; will you put the finishing stroke to my happiness? Let me set out this instant, and fly to the 'arms of my dear and tender *Julia*.

'Twas agreed then to mount their horses again that very night, but the count being seized on a sudden with a burning fever, which held him with great violence for three weeks, it was impossible for him to execute his resolution during that time: This induced the *Aga* to dispatch an express to me, with a letter, wherein he informed me of all these circumstances. The extraordinary pleasure I felt, on hearing the return of my husband's affection, was greatly abated by the news of his illness; so that for above a month I was plunged in fresh sorrows, and in continual, though just alarms, which nothing could either dispel or pacify. In effect, I began, by reason

reaſon of my paſt misfortunes, to believe I ſhould never arrive at that perfect happineſs, to embrace count *Bonneval*; at laſt, however, his return and preſence reſtored me to my former peace of mind.

The night before his arrival, I had a dream, which ſeemed to foretel me, that ſomewhat extraordinary would befal me. Methought a dove, whiter than ſnow, and holding in its bill a lilly full blown, and very bright, flew down from the heavens, and came gliding towards me, as if to meet me. Already it was croſſing the *Boſphorus*, with incredible velocity, when a hideous raven purſued and ſtoopt at her, to ſnatch away her flower; but the artful dove reſiſts couragiouſly the efforts of this voracious bird, and plunging ſuddenly under the waves of that narrow channel, diſappears.

Afflicted to ſee it periſh, I run haſtily to extricate it from danger; and the agitation, wherein I was at that inſtant, was ſo great, that I tumbled out of bed upon the floor. My fall making a great, noiſe, my old *Venetian* ſlave haſted to my aſſiſtance, and was terribly frighten'd on finding me ſtretched out at length, and in a ſwoon. Accordingly ſhe calls out for help, fetches me to myſelf, and gets me into bed. An hour after that, the ſoft god of ſleep, having once more taking poſſeſſion of my ſenſes, I ſee a ſecond time the white dove, which, riſing out of the boſom of the waters, comes and ſettles upon my head, where it leaves the lilly.

I was ſo much ſtruck with this dream, that it never went out of my mind all the day; and I was ſtill, muſing thereon, when word was brought, that my dear huſband was coming. Is this again a dream, cried I, running haſtily into his arms, where his lips met mine; ah! no, 'tis you yourſelf dear count, whom I ſee, whom I embrace; yes, 'tis himſelf, I am now certain of it!

Our

Our two voices formed then ſo ſweet a confuſion, that 'tis impoſſible to deſcribe it; our tender looks, our tears, our ſighs, interrupt our ſpeech, and render us almoſt motionleſs: In a word, our joy, comfort, and happineſs, is not to be expreſſed; thoſe, who really love, will find it all in their own breaſts, there is no need of the pen to make them ſenſible of this exquiſite felicity.

As ſoon as we had taſted, for ſome hours, the charms of a ſo long-deſired re-union; the *Baſſa*, my ſpouſe, went to the *Grand Vizier*, to render him an account of his conduct: Two days after, he had a ſecret audience of the *Sultan*, who loaded him with careſſes. At laſt, having ended all the viſits which duty and decency exacted of him, we went to reſide at a ſtately houſe, he had cauſed to be built, and furniſhed after the *French* manner.

Its ſituation was delightful; it was but a ſmall half-league from *Conſtantinople*, at the farther end of the town of *Scutari*, which is in *Aſia*, on the coaſt of the *Black-Sea*: It was built upon the brow of an agreeable little hill, adorned with trees of all ſorts, intermingled with a large piece of ground planted with vines. We had there an admirable proſpect, but ſomewhat confined; becauſe the whole channel is bounded in with mountains, which conſtrain the ſight to keep within the limits of the coaſts. But then, we may venture to affirm, that theſe coaſts make full compenſation for many far-extended landſchapes, that are to be ſeen in all other countries.

The gardens, around this pleaſant houſe, were embelliſh'd with fine terras-walks; from the uppermoſt, we might diſcover part of the *Seraglio*, with the mouth of the harbour; and, as this harbour forms a large elbow, we could only ſee the maſts of the ſhips. From thence one might diſcover alſo, the

the fine domes of the ſeven imperial moſques; the upper part of *Galata*, the riſing-grounds of *Pera*, and, in general, all that range of fine houſes, that border upon the channel, and form a ſecond city, near four leagues long.

The author of the memoirs, falſly aſcribed to my huſband, is groſly miſtaken, when he affirms, that one may diſcover large fertile plains adjacent to *Conſtantinople*; for, the riſing-grounds not only prevent the ſight's extending into the country, but alſo all this diſtrict, for above ten leagues round, is nothing but one continual ſucceſſion of hills and vallies, without its being poſſible to find any one plain, of a quarter of a league in diameter: Perhaps, he miſtook the liquid plain of the *Helleſpont*, and ſome iſlands, which ſeem to float, as it were, upon its boſom, for ſpacious plains and fruit-trees.

In effect, this author, undoubtedly, has not the leaſt notion of this charming country; it will be ſeen, by the enſuing account of my ſpouſe's adventures, how many errors are contained in the third volume of thoſe memoirs: And he is now about to begin the faithful relation, of all the moſt conſiderable occurrences, that have happened to him ſince his leaving *Venice*.

End of the firſt Part.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Count *BONNEVAL*, &c.

PART II.

Story of count Bonneval, *from his leaving* Venice, *to his ſetting out for* Arabia.

IT would be very difficult to deſcribe well, what was my ſorrowful condition, when my dear *Julia* had vaniſhed from my ſight. I entered into the chamber, that had been prepared for me, where I remained a long time motionleſs. The captain endeavoured, in vain, to diſpel my melancholy, and to draw me out of that ſullen ſilence, which grieved him; during the eight days I continued

nued on board, my ſtupefaction was ſo great and manifeſt, that, undoubtedly, this officer looked upon me as a ſavage, who was a ſtranger equally to common civility and good-nature: Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as I had ſet foot aſhore, at the iſland of *Cephalonia*, my wandering ſenſes began to reſume their wonted empire.

The governor, who had expected me for above two months, being informed of my arrival, cauſed ſeveral diſcharges to be made of the artillery of the caſtle, which rouzed my ſlumbering faculties: This warlike thunder, which I have always paſſionately loved, ſtupefied my grief, inſomuch that I appeared to the captain like quite another man. Accordingly, he complimented me in ſo obliging a manner, upon my change ſo much for the better, that I embraced him, and begg'd he would excuſe the unhandſome return I had made to his great civility.

The ſenator *Cornaro* left nothing undone to baniſh *Venice* from my memory; ſumptuous entertainments, balls, hunting-matches, every thing was try'd to drive away my gloomy thoughts; but ſtill, the abſence of my dear ſpouſe, would bring again frequently upon me ſuch grievous returns of melancholy, as uſed to alarm that illuſtrious nobleman. Hereupon, count, ſaid he to me, how wrong is it, not to ſuit one's ſelf to the times? And to refuſe enjoying thoſe pleaſures, our friends procure us? 'Tis a great point of wiſdom to give way, with reſignation, to the ſtorms of adverſe fortune; and to know how to enjoy proſperity when it returns: Life is too ſhort to admit of dwelling too long upon the ſame ſentiments.

Be adviſed, then, by me, let us take the times as they come; 'tis impoſſible to be perfectly happy in this world, ſorrow and joy is the portion of all; 'tis a wiſe diſpenſation of providence, that all may be

be equal; and that the moſt fortunate may be made, at leaſt, ſenſible, by ſome afflictions, what others undergo, who are continually oppreſſed therewith. For my part, I never take things too much to heart, for that is very prejudicial to the length of our days. When I ſay *things*, I don't mean only thoſe of this world, I have alſo an eye to thoſe of the other. In my opinion, the being too much afraid of damnation, is next door to being damned already. There is reaſon in all things; let us live well, and be merry: In point of conſcience, too many ſcruples occaſion hereſies; I want to go to Heaven, and no higher.

The lively flights of this noble *Venetian*, together with his great care of me, had reſtored me to a pretty favourable diſpoſition of mind: Inſomuch that I may ſay, when I left *Cephalonia*, I appeared indeed count *Bonneval*, ſuch as he ought to be; ſuch as the world has always imagined him; and ſuch as I really was, before my tender love for the beauteous *Salviati*. In effect, I may declare with truth, that my weakneſs, in this reſpect, has been prejudicial to my natural endowments: Nevertheleſs, I cannot repent thereof; ſo true it is, that when one is come to a certain age, that ſoft paſſion has more power over us, than when one is young. In effect, youth is incapable of reflection; being lively, full of fire, haſty, and not tender-hearted: Every tye is a reſtraint upon it; and the union of ſouls, which people of ſenſe think the only real pleaſure in life, appears to it an intolerable yoke.

After a ſtay of two months in this charming and delicious iſland, I went in four days to *Canea*; and as the two galleys, which were to conduct me to the *Sublime Porte*, had long been in readineſs for that voyage, I made them ſet ſail on the eighth; touch'd

touch'd at the *Dardanelles* in fifteen; and arrived at *Conſtantinople*, in about fourteen weeks after my departure from *Venice*.

Achmet III. having been informed that I was come over-againſt the *Seraglio*, went to his magnicent *Kioſque*, which faces the mouth of the harbour; ſo that, on doubling the point of that palace, I was able to take a full view of him; the galley wherein I was, having, in a manner, touch'd the ſtately marble columns that ſupport it. This emperor, who was endued with a ſweetneſs of temper, and affability, till then unknown to the *Turkiſh* monarchs, ey'd me attentively, honour'd me with a gracious ſmile, and took great pleaſure in my manner of ſaluting him. Perhaps, I may be here accuſed of impoſing upon mankind; I believe not, however, when they are once acquainted with the diſpoſition of that prince; and the deſcription I ſhall ſoon make of him, will ſerve as a corroborating proof, to induce the belief of this circumſtance.

The ſight of the *Grand Signior*, which I did not at all expect, had almoſt cauſed me to neglect an eſſential duty; namely, to ſalute the *Seraglio*, on doubling the point of the *Peninſula* whereupon it is built: No veſſel dares enter the harbour, without firſt complying with this ceremony. A *Reys* having apprized me thereof, I cauſed a ſudden diſcharge to be made, of all the artillery of the two galleys, with ſeveral repeated volleys of ſmall arms. Fifty ſoldiers, who had been appointed for my guard, and whom I had taught, by the way, to exerciſe after the *European* manner, ſhewed ſo much addreſs on this occaſion, that they fired each of them ten times in five minutes. This ſhort military expedition was ſo very agreeable to *Achmet*, that he ordered four purſes, of five hundred piaſtres each,

each, to be diſtributed amongſt theſe fifty men. The city and veſſels returned my ſalutation, by above ſix hundred diſcharges of cannon.

As ſoon as I had ſet foot aſhore, two *Capigi Bachis* conducted me to the houſe of the *Kaimakan*, or governor of this ſtately city; where a magnificent apartment had been prepared for me. There I received the viſits of a great number of officers; which I returned, after my having had audience of the *Grand Vizier*, who appointed the fourth day for that purpoſe. This firſt miniſter, not only gave me ſome proofs of his own good-will, but would alſo procure me a private interview with the *Sultan*, the very next day. This again is another paſſage, which will be thought fabulous; eſpecially if credit is given to the inconveniences, pretended by the author of the memoirs, falſly aſcribed to me: Nevertheleſs, nothing is more true than this private audience. Such a flattering deſcription of me had been made to *Achmet*, that his impatience to diſcourſe me induced him to tranſgreſs thoſe ſevere maxims, which are uſually practiſed at the *Sublime Porte*. Never did any potentate, perhaps, careſs a favourite more, than this good emperor did me: It even moved me ſo much, that I did not at all ſcruple to give him a faithful account both of my own conduct, and of the preſent ſtate of the principal powers of *Europe*; but I ſhall be far from diſcloſing here, all thoſe particulars, whereof I informed *Achmet*; or the advice I afterwards gave in the *Divan*; for that would be to expoſe myſelf to the fatal bow-ſtring.

Nothing ever gets vent of any counſel that is given, or any reſolution that is taken at the *Porte*; it is, therefore, falſly, that the author of thoſe memoirs aſcribes to me all thoſe diſcourſes, and all the counſels, which he deſcribes ſo prettily, but with-

out the leaſt probability. It is too dangerous to reveal what paſſes in theſe ſecret aſſemblies; and, though I am not endued with ſo much eloquence as that writer, perhaps the inſtructions, hinted by me on divers occaſions, may be as full of ſagacity, as thoſe he has attributed to me.

'Tis true, that *Achmet*, at this firſt audience, ſpoke to me of embracing *Mahometiſm*; but he did not inſiſt much upon this point: 'Tis a miſtake, in the *Europeans*, to imagine the *Turks* ſuch outragious zealots, as to their law, that they will not admit any *Chriſtian* into an employment, or dignity, unleſs he embraces it; perhaps this might be their cuſtom formerly, but, at preſent, they are recovered from thoſe follies. They have found out the abuſe that has been made of it, and repoſe full as little confidence in their proſelytes, as the *Chriſtians*.

They do, indeed, reſpect and honour thoſe who embrace their religion, if they live ſoberly, and are ſtrict obſervers of its precepts; but as, hitherto, the number of theſe is very ſmall, and as, on the contrary, they have found few perſons more corrupt, or more perverſe, than thoſe who abjure *Chriſtianity*, to embrace *Mahometiſm*, thoſe look upon them with the utmoſt contempt; inſomuch that they force no one upon this head, but prefer a good *Chriſtian*, to a wicked proſelyte. It cannot be denied, however, that it is impoſſible to arrive at certain dignities, without renouncing *Chriſtianity*; and this is what the *Sultan*, and chief officers of the empire, inſinuated to me artfully: It became neceſſary therefore, to have recourſe to ſtratagem, and to put in execution the inſtructions, and advice, given me by the *Baſſa* of *Albania*.

The *Mufti*, a perſon as venerable for his auſtere virtue, as for his great age, was tranſported with joy, when I ſeem'd to agree to become a *Muſſulman*.

The

The two *Imans*, his ſubſtitutes, who had already made me ſeveral viſits by his order, having renew'd to me the proteſtations, they had before made, in writing, to the above-mentioned *Baſſa*, were very careful in publiſhing, that they were labouring about my inſtruction; and I eaſily obtained leave to be circumciſed in private. At the time appointed, I pretended, for a fortnight, to be indiſpoſed; whereupon, every one believed me a real *Turk*: Accordingly, the *Muſſulmen* extolled me highly, the *Franks* loaded me with injurious titles; and the monks and prieſts made the pulpits reſound with invectives.

Nevertheleſs, the ſcene was ſoon changed; I had an interview with the rector of the *Jeſuits*, a man of good ſenſe, and declared to him my whole conduct; fully perſuaded, that theſe directors of conſcience, who know ſo well how to reconcile religion with intereſt, would eaſily excuſe this little irregular ſtep, in conſideration of ſome gifts: Accordingly, a preſent of ſix thouſand chequins render'd me as white as ſnow; and all the outcries of thoſe cholerick preachers ceaſed at once.

This complaiſant man even prevented my diſcovering this ſecret to the *French* embaſſador: I hope, ſaid he, that, by this diſſimulation, you will be the better enabled to ſerve the *Chriſtians*, who live under the dominion of his Highneſs. In effect, I have always protected them ſecretly; and it is my good-will to them, which occaſions my baniſhment at preſent: I have neither ſpared my ſubſtance, nor my blood, to deliver an infinite number from ſlavery; and have been but indifferently rewarded for my pains.

Nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding the aſſurances which the not over-ſcrupulous *Jeſuit* gave me, my conſcience made me ſome reproaches upon this

head; for I have always valued my honour and reputation; wherefore, it was not without concern, I found my credit blaſted, and heard that the *European Chriſtians*, branded me with the inſulting name of *Apoſtate*. Our reputation, in this world, is but juſt worth as much as people are pleaſed to value it at; and, though the praiſes or contempt, of moſt part of mankind, are of no great conſequence, we are ſtill fools enough to regard them; and, I believe, we muſt be quite perfect, that is, abſolutely free from ſelf-love, and every other paſſion, not to be moved thereat. However, being convinced, that, to ſilence backbiters, and deprive calumny of all its power, one muſt not pretend to mind it, and that complaints, reproaches, and paſſion does but increaſe it, inſtead of putting an end thereto, I deſpiſed all that was told me upon this head, and purſued my uſual courſe of life.

I had ſome friends, and ſaw four or five regularly every day; with whom I drowned all my ſorrows in excellent neat *Smyrna* wine, which the *Aga* of that city never ſuffered me to want. I have already obſerved, unleſs I am miſtaken, that I profeſſed in *Turkey*, as I have always done elſewhere, the religion only of an honeſt man. I went to the moſques, and there offered up my prayers to the Supreme Being, of whoſe exiſtence I am fully convinced; I did good both to my friends and enemies; I admit alſo of loving my neighbour; but then theſe are the only articles of faith to which I can agree: The immortality of the ſoul, an happy or miſerable eternity, are the neceſſary conſequences thereof; inſomuch, that this is all I believe, in common with the *Turks*, neither do any ſenſible *Muſſulmen* believe any more: In effect, this ſuffices, in my opinion, to render one a perfectly honeſt man, ſuch as the real *Turks* certainly are.

I have often been aſtoniſh'd, to hear certain perſons, who were reckoned to be men of learning, inveigh againſt the *Mahometans*, and their religion, in the moſt injurious language. They are, according to theſe wiſe declaimers, a voluptuous ſect, and real *Epicureans*. They make their happineſs conſiſt only in ſenſual pleaſures, not excepting the joys of paradiſe itſelf. They are brutal, ignorant, unpoliſh'd, cruel, and blood-thirſty.

Such, or almoſt ſuch, is the notion the charitable *Chriſtians* form of the *Turks*, and their religion; but let us ſee, whether theſe prejudices are juſt; and let us give mankind a right idea of theſe people, ſo much immers'd, like brutes, in carnal enjoyments. I don't at all deny, but there are amongſt the *Turks* debauched and wicked men; but, excluſive of the *Renegades*, very few ſuch will be found; and theſe few are ſo much deſpiſed, that one cannot, without injuſtice, reckon them as part of the nation. They are but an aſſemblage of rabble, generally baniſh'd from all ſociety; whereas, one ſees, and that with the greateſt regret, that amongſt the *Chriſtians*, the great number of profligates, are poſſeſs'd of the firſt rank, at court, and in the civil community.

Here, in *Turkey*, none are looked upon as perſons of probity, but thoſe, who are exact obſervers of their law, which is exceſſively burthenſome; thoſe, who neither wrong any one in reputation, nor ſubſtance; thoſe, who perform their promiſes with a rigid punctuality; and thoſe, who ſupply the poor abundantly, with every thing that is neceſſary. In *Chriſtendom*, ſcoffing at religion and the laws is but a jeſt; and nothing, but the fear of puniſhment, makes any regard be paid to them. An irreligious and impious *Chriſtian*, is counted an upright man, whilſt he lives in affluence, or is

poſſeſs'd of ſome conſiderable employment. A *Chriſtian* is not reckon'd the leſs honeſt man, for being guilty of injuſtice; for beſpattering his neighbour with ſlanders and calumnies; for having no compaſſion on the poor; or for breaking his word, when incited thereto by intereſt: Yet this is only a ſketch of the contraſt that is to be found between the *Chriſtians* and *Turks*; but the fear of being counted partial, prevents my carrying on the compariſon any farther, or even going to the bottom of thi melancholy diſquiſition.

Beſides, we ought to divide the *Mahometans* into two claſſes, the ſenſible and the ignorant; the former of which are by far the greateſt number. Amongſt theſe may be found artful and ſubtle courtiers, whoſe refined policy ſurpaſſes the reach of the ſhrewdeſt genius; men, whoſe diſcernment penetrates even to the dark receſſes of the heart; men, of a piercing wit, temper'd with the greateſt compoſure of mind; men of modeſty, who can think coolly, without giving too much latitude to their tongues; who apply themſelves to reaſoning juſtly, and neither love to dictate with a magiſterial tone, nor criticiſe upon every thing.

Now, theſe perſons underſtand the *Alcoran* in a refined manner; that is, they do not make the precepts of the law conſiſt in a literal obſervance of it, but in one that is allegorical, and ſpiritualized; and have much the ſame notion of a future ſtate, as the *Chriſtians* themſelves. They practiſe polygamy, according to their occaſions; and are infinitely more reſerved, with regard to women, than moſt other nations: It is very ſeldom they touch them when pregnant. They will drink wine, when they are aſſured, that drunkenneſs will not tranſport them to any exceſſes; but then, they reckon it a capital crime, when their debauchery is likely to incite them

them to any wickedneſs. Have the *Chriſtians* ſo much government of themſelves, I appeal to their conſciences? In a word, being perſuaded that the *Alcoran* was only given them to ſubdue their paſſions, and induce them to the practice of the moral virtues, they have recourſe thereto, as to a ſalutary ſpecific, according to their occaſions, and according to the times, which they think require it; inſomuch, that they don't obſerve it literally, but in ſuch points, wherein it agrees with the Goſpel, namely, by worſhiping and glorifying Heaven, and by loving their neighbour as themſelves.

The unlearned and ignorant *Turks* obſerve their law literally, and with the moſt rigid exactneſs; and this their punctuality is a moſt ſevere ſlavery, infinitely more burthenſome than the ſtricteſt order of the Monks, not excepting the *Carthuſians* of *la Trape*. For, beſides a great number of very troubleſome ablutions, they are enjoin'd to ſay their prayers five times each day, and that at pretty inconvenient ſeaſons. Each prayer is to laſt an hour; no true *Muſſulman* excuſes himſelf from this; and theſe prayers are offered up with ſo much recollection of mind, and in ſuch humble poſtures, that they muſt have great patience, or great love for their Creator, to go through with theſe religious exerciſes.

Again, their *Lent*, or *Ramadan*, which laſts a whole *Lunar* month, that is, from one new moon to the other, is another very heavy burthen. It frequently falls out, during the hotteſt days in ſummer; nevertheleſs, a zealous *Muſſulman* labours the whole day, oppreſſed with the moſt ardent thirſt, without offering to refreſh his lips with a ſingle drop of water: It is very ſeldom they are known to take even this ſmall liberty. The plurality of wives is alſo a ſevere penance to a *Turk*. The women there, are

too wanton, and too much addicted to looſe deſires, to afford any ſolid pleaſure to a perſon of ſenſe; and then, the jealouſy that reigns amongſt his wives, renders a *Turk*'s houſe a kind of hell: Beſides, their law is ſo favourable to them, that a man is every moment expoſed to a hundred vexatious accidents, whenever they prefer any complaints againſt him.

To conclude, let us add, that the *Turks*, in general, are accuſtomed to a coarſe and inſipid diet; that few of them have any other beds than carpets or mats; that they go almoſt always bare-foot; and that their ſobriety would be reckoned a ſevere faſt, even by a *Chriſtian* mechanick: Such is the life of theſe people, who are falſly called *Epicureans*, and who are taxed with making all their felicity conſiſt in brutiſh pleaſures! Such are theſe cruel, blood-thirſty and inhuman men, whoſe name alone ſtrikes *Chriſtians* with horror!

Mahomet acted like an able politician, when he allow'd a plurality of wives, and prohibited, at the ſame time, the uſe of wine and ſtrong liquors. He knew the *Arabs* to be mightily addicted to lewdneſs; which induced him to promiſe them a carnal paradiſe, agreeable to their groſs deſires, in order to prompt them to the practice of moral virtue. Beſides, no one would have inliſted under his banners, had he prohibited polygamy, which was before cuſtomary amongſt them: It was for the ſame reaſon alſo, he did not allow them the uſe of wine; having found that it rendered them furious, cruel, and incapable of maintaining amongſt them the harmony of a civil ſociety.

Take away from the *Alcoran* ſome chapters of this kind, which he inſerted merely to gain this unpoliſh'd nation, the reſt contains nothing that is not founded upon the love of God, and that of our

our neighbour. He only revived the law of nature, and ſubjoined thereto ſome legal ceremonies, no ways conducive to ſalvation, and dictated purely by an artful prophecy, in order to gain over to himſelf ſome followers. This may, perhaps, be termed a tedious digreſſion, and I confeſs it; for which reaſon, no more ſuch will be found in theſe ſheets.

When the report was once ſpread through *Conſtantinople*, that I had undergone the operation which is neceſſary to becoming a true believer, the *Sultan* granted me a publick audience, the particulars whereof are as follows; and will be found ſomewhat different from thoſe of the author of the memoirs falſly aſcribed to me. The time of my publick audience was fixed upon that very day when the *Janizaries* were to be paid; both that I might at once ſee, the order and diſcipline of theſe troops, and the large ſums appointed for their maintenance. This is an uſual cuſtom, at the *Ottoman* court, on all public audiences: They think, by this oſtentation, to ſtrike a terror into foreign powers.

Accordingly, a good number of the principal officers of the *Seraglio* being come to the *Kaimaikan's*, we all mounted on horſeback, at the hour appointed. That which was allotted me, was a fine *Arabian*, the moſt beautiful in the governor's ſtables, and ſet off with magnificent furniture. I rode by the ſide of that officer; and, as his houſe is but about two hundred paces from the *Seraglio*, we were there almoſt in an inſtant: And I can ſafely affirm, I ſaw no body who ſtrewed flowers before me, or made the ſky reſound with their acclamations and bleſſings, as is falſly averr'd in the memoirs above-mentioned. Nevertheleſs, I was eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed, being dreſſed altogether after the *French* manner, excepting a *Calpa*, or green cap,

I had put on, in the form of a turban; but the ſcene changed, before my appearing in the preſence of the *Sultan*.

All the avenues of this vaſt palace, as well as the two outward courts, were full of *Janizaries*, who performed their exerciſe as ſoon as I appeared; after this they conducted me into a large hall, adjoining to that where the *Divan* meets, in which the money, deſtined for the payment of thoſe troops, was piled up in heaps. The *Grand Vizier* with the *Mufti*, who were there waiting for me, embraced me very cordially, and ſeated me between them, on a ſopha of green velvet, embroidered richly with gold. When the treaſurer had diſtributed the money amongſt the *Janizaries*, a number of white eunuchs brought in a plentiful entertainment, the greateſt delicacies whereof, conſiſted in *pillau* of divers colours, made with the juice of partridges, neither did I find any thing more exquiſite there; and this being over, they conducted me into a chamber adjoining, where a rich veſt was preſented me, with a noble robe, lined and faced with fine ſables; a turban, adorned with a beautiful plume of feathers, ſuch as is worn by *Baſſa*'s, and embelliſhed with a roſe of diamonds of great value; together with a ſabre, whoſe gold hilt was ſet with fine jewels, though but of a moderate price.

Aſſoon as I was thus transformed into a *Turk*, two *Capigi Bachis*, or chiefs of the porters, with each a ſilver batoon in their hands, took me under the arms, and led me to the foot of *Achmet's* throne. The entrance into the audience chamber was full of eunuchs, all ſumptuouſly dreſſed; it is this famous entry that has given the *Ottoman* court the name of the *Porte*.

There ſpectful awe, that every one there ſtands in, obliges them to obſerve a moſt profound ſilence.

No

No noiſe is heared, but the ſoft murmurs of a bubbling fountain, whoſe waters, caſt up to a great height, fall down again, into a ſtately baſon of granite marble. There are alſo in this magnificent chamber, a number of golden globes hanging down like cryſtal branches, by chains of pearl. Theſe globes are almoſt covered with precious ſtones. The rich cieling of this dazzling room, with its floor, overſpread every where with carpets of velvet, embroider'd with gold, form a very agreeable ſight; and the *Grand Signior*'s reſplendent throne, finiſhes the whole, and quite inchants the ſenſes, being of maſſy unwrought ſilver; it was covered that day with a green velvet carpet, enriched with an infinite number of precious ſtones of divers colours.

The *Sultan* having made his appearance, almoſt in a moment, upon his throne, the *Capigi Bachis* obliged me to bow down thrice profoundly, before his highneſs, at ſet diſtances, in proportion as I advanced; they then led me backwards, almoſt to the place where I bowed the ſecond time, in order to my making my ſpeech, which was as follows, word for word.

'Moſt high, moſt mighty and moſt invincible 'emperor of the true believers, may thy throne be 'eternal, may thy poſterity be happy and laſting, 'and may they perpetuate thy glory from genera-'tion to generation.

'Why cannot I, O invincible emperor, find ex-'preſſions lively enough, to deſcribe thoſe ſenti-'ments of reſpect and admiration, which thy au-'guſt preſence excites in my ſoul! Why have not I 'a thouſand lives to devote them all to thy ſervice, 'and to the enlargement of thy flouriſhing empire! 'The favourable looks which thy goodneſs has 'vouchſafed to caſt upon me; the powerful pro-'tection thou art pleaſed ſo graciouſly to grant me;

'and

'and the favours with which thou haſt already 'honoured me, with ſo much magnificence, have 'inſpired my heart with a gratitude, which extends 'even to adoration.

'Should I be enabled, O thou moſt glorious 'monarch of the univerſe, to perform actions wor- 'thy of thy acceptance, worthy of the employ- 'ments, wherewith it ſhall pleaſe thee to honour 'me, I will then give a looſe to all my zeal, that 'I may prove to you my inviolable fidelity, and 'obey with an humble ſubmiſſion, thine ever-to- 'be-reſpected orders; I will ſurmount the moſt 'dreadful dangers and perils, to convince thee, 'that I devote all my blood, from this hour, to thy 'pleaſure.'

After my having uttered this ſhort harangue, the two *Capigi Bachis* re-conducted me, going ſtill backwards, (for no one is allowed to turn his back upon the *Sultan*,) and obliged me again, at ſet diſtances, to make three very low bows, till I got again to the entry.

The *Grand Signior* never ſpeaks at public audiences; all who are preſent alſo, are there obliged to a reſpectful ſilence. The *Grand Vizier*, the *Mufti*, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, the chief of the *Black Eunuchs*, and other officers of the firſt rank, continue there ſtanding, with their arms a-croſs their breaſts, and ſcarcely daring to breathe, while the emperor is upon his throne; neither do they quit that poſture till he is withdrawn again into his apartment. Then they retire alſo gravely, without ſpeaking a ſingle word, either in the chamber or the entry. In the *Divan* likewiſe the moſt profound reſpect is to be obſerved, when any councils are there held, becauſe the *Sultan* is often there *incognito*, and can ſee and hear all, without its being poſſible to diſcover him. This circumſtance appears

pears to me extreamly well judged; the emperor thereby keeps in awe the ſeditious and diſaffected, and prevents many unjuſt proceedings, which might blemiſh that exact and ſevere juſtice, that reigns amongſt the *Turks*.

Aſſoon as the emperor was retired, the *Grand Vizier* made me return again into the audience chamber, and aſſured me, that his highneſs was very well pleaſed with me, honoured me with the title of Baſſa of three horſe-tails, and gave me the government of *Arabia Petræa*, which extends from the *Iſthmus* of *Sues*, to within three days journey of *Medina*: This government is accompanied with the dignity of *Beglerbeg*, or a viceroy of the empire. I had alſo an aſſignment of twenty thouſand aſpres a day. As to the body of troops, the command whereof had been promiſed me, that, he ſaid, was a thing impoſſible, unleſs a war ſhould break out; wherefore amends had been made me, on that account, by an augmention of my allowance. I then took the oath of allegiance; and returned to the *Kaimakan*'s, with the ſame retinue, only that the ſtandard of three horſe tails was carried before me, as a mark of my new dignity.

The *Sultana Valide*, and the favourite *Sultaneſs*, ſent me conſiderable preſents next morning, with an aſſurance of their protection; all the great officers of the court followed alſo their example; ſuch is the whim of the *Turkiſh* courtiers! Preſents circulate there almoſt without intermiſſion, from the leaſt officer, they paſs from hand to hand unto the greateſt. The *Grand Vizier* afterwards diſtributes them, about the *Seraglio*, to maintain his credit; from the *Seraglio*, they return again amongſt particular perſons; ſo that theſe riches, are like a kind of flowing and ebbing of the tides, and reſembles thoſe ſprings, which, taking their riſe from the ſea, form afterwards rivers,

rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into that vaſt abyſs. From the *Seraglio* the gold and ſilver paſſes to the courtiers, and from the courtiers, all returns to be ſwallowed up in that ocean of wealth.

Two days after my public audience, *Achmet* was deſirous of a private converſation with me; and ordered the *Boſtangi Bachi* to conduct me to the *Kioſk* of the fountains, where I found that emperor. He ſeem'd ſo well pleaſed with my diſcourſe, that he ſent for me regularly almoſt, once a week, and this for above ten months. Theſe frequent interviews; created a jealouſy in all the courtiers, except the *Kaimakan*, who loved me ſincerely; and it was his friendſhip for me, that induced him to give me ſome advice concerning my conduct, which I followed, and had no cauſe to repent: His diſcourſe to me, upon this head, was very near as follows.

'*Baſſa Bonneval*, (ſaid this good natured gover-
'nor,) my great eſteem for you, will not ſuffer
'me to diſſemble with you; I believe you are
'convinced of it. You are but little acquainted
'with our maxims, and the ſtratagems they have
'here recourſe to, in order to betray and ſupplant
'a competitor, of whom they are jealous. Your
'too frequent interviews with the *Sultan*, have
'taken air; and given umbrage to the chief officers
'of the *Porte*; they muſt abſolutely be broken off;
'otherwiſe you will ſink under the plots that are
'already begun to be formed againſt you.

'Even now *Achmet* totters upon the throne;
'I foreſee ſome dangerous revolution; ſhould this
'happen, you will fall a victim to thoſe who envy
'you Be ruled by me, retire for ſome time from
'court; demand earneſtly of the *Divan*, to go
'and take a view of your government; perhaps,
'during your abſence, the face of affairs may be
'changed; I may then be able to concert proper

'meaſures

'measures for your return, and to raiſe you to 'ſome eminent poſt.

'The letters you have lately received from *Ve-* 'nice, ought to convince you, that your affection for 'the beauteous *Salviati*, meets with a very bad re- 'quital. The melancholy that has prey'd upon you 'ever ſince, will be diſpelled by this journey. 'Who knows, whether you may not be better in- 'formed thereby, of your ſpouſe's conduct? For I 'can hardily be perſuaded, that a perſon, ſuch as 'you have repreſented her to me, can be capable 'of thoſe exceſſes, whereof ſhe is accuſed.

'You was wanting in prudence, in inſpiring the 'Sultan with the deſign of deſciplining his troops, 'and teaching them to exerciſe, after the manner of 'the *Chriſtian* princes: This was attempting to raiſe 'yourſelf upon the ruins of the *Aga* of the *Jani-* 'zaries, who has already had recourſe to a thou- 'ſand artifices, to prevent its being put in execu- 'tion. This *Aga* is too powerful, for you to 'draw him upon your back; he appears to bear you 'but little good will; and his enmity is the more to 'be apprehended, as he alone can depoſe the 'emperor, by exciting a revolt: Deſiſt then, from 'this deſign, which cannot fail of proving fa- 'tal to you.

'Beſides, it is wholly impracticable; becauſe of 'the little ſubordination there is amongſt our troops. 'You are not ignorant, that all our regular forces, 'conſiſt only of the *Janizaries*, who form at moſt, 'but a body of fifty thouſand; and theſe are too 'haughty, and love their *Aga* too well, to obey a 'ſtranger. The reſt of the *Turkiſh* infantry, are 'only a confuſed heap of peaſants, and of rabble, 'altogether untractable.

'The *Spahis*, who compoſe the cavalry, are yet 'leſs to be diſciplined; being all maintained by certain 'officers,

rivers, which discharge themselves in[illegible]human-abyss. From the *Seraglio* the gold[illegible]artime, to the courtiers, and from the co[illegible]ore or less, to be swallowed up in that ocean[illegible]le sort of cap-

Two days after my public a[illegible]ar from obey-desirous of a private conver[illegible]an idle life, they dered the *Bostangi Bachi*[illegible], which will seem to *Kiosk* of the fountains,[illegible]ll turn to no advan-He seem'd so well ple[illegible]own use of this advice, he sent for me regul[illegible]friend who gives it you.' this for above ten[illegible]d reasons of the *Kaimakan*, I views; created e[illegible]those causes, for being under the *Kaimakan*[illegible]on, which this governor had re-his friendship[illegible]me: The *Sultan* allowed them to be some advic[illegible]ded, but would not suffer me to quit the lowed, a[illegible]ll after having resided two years at *Constan-*me, ur[illegible]though, 'tis true, in order to have some

« [illegible]gard for my safety, he did not send for me above « p[illegible]three or four times within that space.

« Before my entering into a more particular account of my life, it may be proper to give a short description of this emperor. *Achmet* III. was of a more than common height; pretty well made; but somewhat too tall, lean, and of a brown complection; his countenance was between masculine and womanish, his looks pleasant, and his carriage effeminate. What was admired in him, was a certain air of goodness, with which nature seems to have set off some men, only to make them love virtue; and it is certain, excepting his inclination for the fair sex, to whom he was exceedingly addicted, he had hardly any ill qualities. But, indeed, he seemed too much immersed in those sensual pleasures, which had intirely enervated his courage; he neither loved hunting, nor war, nor any laborious exercise; all his delight being in shutting himself up amongst his women, with whom he would employ himself,

in

broidering ſeveral pieces of work, or in mounting
es on horſeback, and riding about th ſtreets
inople, *Pera* and *Galata*, from which he
irred any great way. As to the reſt, he
ed, affable, and willing to ſhew him-
never ſuffering them to hide his
ly the cuſtom when the *Sultans*
e city. He always ſpoke with that
jeſty, which at once perſuades and in-
neart with love; and if he has commit-
ne acts of injuſtice, and been guilty of ſome
elties, it was only by the inſtigation of his favorite *Sultana*, by whom he ſuffered himſelf to be intirely governed. They at laſt cauſed his downfal from the throne; to which, however, he found the means again to raiſe himſelf, with a vigilance and addreſs, whereof I ſhould never have ſuſpected him capable: Such, or almoſt ſuch was this emperor, who always honoured me with diſtinguiſhing marks of his favour.

In my laſt interview with him, before my departure for *Arabia*, he endeavoured by dint of kindneſs, to diſpel that lively grief to which I had been ſome time a prey, on account of my wife: Nay, whenever I had the honour of converſing with him, he would careſs me and highly extol my courage, good ſenſe and brave actions, ſo that my love and attachment to the intereſt of this auguſt monarch ſoon equalled my reſpect and ſubmiſſion to his commands

It may eaſily be judged by the account already given, that my buſineſs at *Conſtantinople* was not very important, after my having diſpatched what has been already related; for which two months ſufficed: It became neceſſary therefore, to ſeek out ſome amuſements. I had gained ſome friends, who were no enemies to the ſocial pleaſures of a

good table, inſomuch that we entertained each other by turns. Abundance of company came to the *Kaimakan*; but not only the *Turkiſh* ceremonies were extremely troubleſome, but that governor was outwardly ſo regular, that it was with difficulty I could accuſtom myſelf to the exceeding gravity of his deportment. I ſtayed, therefore, very little at his houſe; but went to the *Moſques* at prayer time, walk'd up and down the city, and ſpent part of the night in diverting myſelf with my little ſociety: However, as cuſtom diminiſhes the value of every thing, this idle life began to grow tireſome to me; wherefore I ſought for ſome amuſing employment to divert me.

One day, in walking along the ſides of the *Boſphorus*, I obſerved above the town of *Scutari* three vaſt gardens with terras walks, and kept in admirable order, which took up my whole attention. Six fine fountains, two in each garden, ſent up their waters, in the ſhape of ſheaves, to a great height, which fell down again into marble baſons, and formed two caſcades that filled a large reſervoir, whoſe waters were conveyed imperceptibly into the canal.

Above the upper garden was a ſpacious open vineyard, planted with fig-trees, olive-trees, and interſperſed with other fruit-trees of every kind, which ſerved as ſupports to the vines: In ſhort it reſembled a ſhady little wood. From about the middle of the riſing ground, (whereupon theſe gardens ſtood,) quite up to the top of the hill, divers charming groves had been formed in the ſhape of an amphitheatre, impenetrable to the rays of the ſun: To crown all, the proſpect was admirable, and I was ſo highly delighted with this ſolitude, that I reſolved that inſtant to purchaſe it if poſſible.

The

The houſe, which was built upon an aſcent, was indeed but ſmall; but two large courts, which were on the ſide of it, and formed two magnificent terraſſes, adorned with balconies, and waſhed by the waters of the *Boſphorus*, inſpired me with the thought of having another built more ſuitable to my rank and fortune, which was undoubtedly exceeding proſperous. Being informed this eſtate belonged to a *French* renegade, of whom I had heard great talk, I went to him that very day, to know whether he would be willing to part with it to me; and in ſhort, my rank and quality, with the conformity there was between us, as to nation and religion, (for he thought me as much an apoſtate as himſelf,) made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he would have complimented me with it as a preſent. However, after ſome diſputes upon this head, we agreed about the price, ſo that this enchanting paradiſe belonged to me next day.

Fully determined to fix my abode there, I applied myſelf to building a noble houſe there, which, though only of wood, does not yield in any other reſpect to the fineſt *hotels* at *Paris*, either as to bigneſs or in the convenience of its apartments. It conſiſts of four large ranges of building, in the form of a hollow-ſquare, and flanked with two wings after the *Engliſh* manner. In the one are the kitchens, offices, and other conveniences, neceſſary for a great houſe, with twelve ſmall apartments over them for the ſervants; and the other is a ſpacious ſtable, that will hold thirty horſes with eaſe. I drew the deſign, and immediately began to ſet about the building, which was finiſhed at the end of three months.

This done, I had it furniſhed, half after the *French*, and half after the *Turkiſh* manner: That is, there are ſophas, carpets, mats, chairs and tables; but all the beds were after the *French* manner; for

I could never uſe myſelf, either to eat like the *Mahometans*, nor to ſleep like them, without ſheets and without down beds.

I had already ten ſlaves, *Muſcovites*, and ſix fine horſes, which had been preſented to me; to theſe I added alſo eight *Germans*, all men, and ſix *Venetian* women, already of a pretty advanced age, that I might keep peace in my family, and baniſh all intriguing from thence. I likewiſe increaſed the number of my horſes to twenty; which done, I haſten'd to ſhut myſelf up in this lovely retreat, from whence I never ſtirred but twice or thrice a month; and then only to make my court to the chief officers of the *Porte*, or when the *Sultan* ſent for me.

'Tis true, I did not want company; *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, all flocked to me, as if ſtriving who ſhould come firſt; ſome from a principle of intereſt, others in mere civility: And it was really a pretty ſingular ſight, to obſerve at the ſame time and in the ſame place, turbans, hats, cowls and little bands. The *Jeſuits* and *Capuchins* never failed in this reſpect; the former, to receive twenty-five chequins, which I had alloted for the *Italian* ſlaves; and the latter, to have a note for fifty pounds of meat, which my butcher delivered them every week. I deſcend to theſe trifles only to ſhew how much they were miſtaken, who affirmed I had no manner of intercourſe with the *Franks*.

The *Turks*, far from confining me either in this reſpect, or upon the account of religion, were pleaſed that I ſhewed ſome regard to the *French* Regulars; for they eſteem them very much themſelves. Not only they never mentioned to me, the taking a derviſe into my houſe, but they allowed me to have a *Capuchin* every ſunday and holy day, to celebrate maſs, becauſe all my ſervants were *Roman Catholicks*. To this end I had cauſed a ſmall, but very

neat

neat chapel to be made; which alſo ſerved me as an oratory, to pray in five times a day.

Formerly I ſcarce performed this duty once a month, but at preſent I am more devout: The good example of the *Turks* has made an impreſſion on my mind, and I have found ſince my being amongſt them, that nothing is ſo good or ſo ſalutary, as to labour after one's ſalvation. I am ſenſible alſo, that they who have miſcarried in their worldly purſuits, are more moved with theſe thoughts than others, becauſe they ſee better the emptineſs of all ſublunary things, and the little reliance there is on the favours, or promiſes of the great. I believe really, that good or bad examples have often a great influence on our conduct: In *France*, in *Germany*, and elſewhere, always beſet with perſons of little or no religion, I followed their foot-ſteps; now, frequenting only thoſe who are endued with all the moral virtues, I endeavour to imitate them.

Were we to live long we ſhould at laſt become perfect; it being certain that we reform moſt eaſily as we grow old: We forgive a thouſand things when young, which we cannot pardon when the ſeaſon of delights and pleaſures is over; we look more cloſely into ourſelves, and we excuſe nothing; we have loſt that favourable diſpoſition, to take every thing in good part; in ſhort, it is no longer allowed to do what is blameable, and leſs in this country than elſewhere; grey-hairs being only reſpected here, according to the regularity that appears in the behaviour of their owners.

This thought induces ſelf-love itſelf, to have recourſe to ſomewhat, that may ſupport it in this cruel decline, which in ſpite of us gains ground every day, ſtep by ſtep. Theſe reflections ought to convince thoſe, who begin to advance in years, that they ought then to be leſs careleſs of themſelves,

than when in the flower of their age; but life is too ſhort, and death overtakes us, whilſt we are ſtill full of our miſery, and our good-intentions.

Let no one object to me here, that there is no getting to Heaven but by following ſome particular ſect or religion; provided we allow the goſpel, we may certainly be ſaved: And wherein does this goſpel conſiſt? Why truly, in the love of God, and one's neighbour; all the other precepts tend only to enforce theſe two main points: Accordingly, as I have before ſaid, I admit of none elſe. There muſt be a way of worſhip, I know it; well! and in what does it conſiſt? In worſhiping God in ſpirit and in truth, in praying to him with a contrite heart, and a reſpectful humility, as is done by the *Turks*; and if I imitate them in this point, I verily believe I don't offend againſt him in any thing he requires of his creatures, and that this worſhip alone is ſufficient to ſave me.

It may eaſily be perceived by this real and circumſtantial account of my conduct, that nothing is more fabulous, than the ſtory of the amours of the derviſe, which is pretended to have happened under my roof. Beſides, theſe *Turkiſh* religious may marry as well as the laymen; and none but the *Santons* make a profeſſion of celibacy among the *Mahometans*; but it ſeems, as if this kind of vow incited them to be more debauched, than the *Monks* amongſt the *Chriſtians*; accordingly they are generally deſpiſed.

Neither is it leſs ridiculous, to ſuppoſe that every *Turkiſh* officer is obliged to form a *Seraglio* for himſelf, or to marry a number of wives in order to gain eſteem. Really the public have a very groſs notion of theſe people, and one that is altogether contrary to the juſtice which is due to them. Not only every one is at his own liberty in this reſpect, but a man

man is the more esteemed who knows how to govern himself, with regard to women.

It is equally false, that every *Bassa* or *Turk*, promoted to a considerable dignity, may marry as many wives as he pleases; no one is allowed to have but four at the most; the others are only looked upon as concubines or slaves. There is nobody but the *Grand Signior* himself, who does not submit to the marriage bond, and has as many women as he pleases; but they have not the title of queens or *Sultana's*, till they have borne a child; and she who brings the first son, is declared *Sultana Queen*, all the others being subordinate to her. It is not therefore the ceremony, nor yet the civil contract that confers upon them this dignity, whereas, amongst private persons, they contract marriage according to the laws of the land.

If the great officers of the *Porte*, were to marry such a prodigious number of wives, it would require immense riches to support their luxury: For, besides a considerable dower they are obliged to settle on them, their maintenance draws along with it an extravagant expence. Accordingly, for the most part, the chief officers content themselves with one single wife, and choose rather to have concubines or slaves; they sell the one again, and rid their hands of the other, whenever they please, by giving them a pretty moderate sum: In short, if the lawful wives can find sufficient reason to demand a divorce, and they happen to be of a distinguished rank, as for instance, one of those out of the *Seraglio*, with which the *Sultan* often honours the *Bassa's*, where would they find wherewith to pay their dowries, which is generally very considerable? Is it not to be feared one should not be in a capacity to do it? In which case a man undergoes the most severe punishments, without any regard either to his

employment, or whatever reaſons he may alledge. It is reported therefore without any grounds, that I have had ſo many wives; 'tis true, the author of the memoirs calls them only ſlaves; for no other title is given to thoſe we buy; nevertheleſs, according to him, I muſt have had, beſides thoſe I purchaſed, four other real wives; namely, one who gave herſelf to me in my government, one *Engliſhwoman*, one *German*, and one of *Marſeilles*, my old miſtreſs, who had come ſo far in queſt of me. Without a lye, this writer does me great injuſtice; undoubtedly he intended, by this forgery, to convince the public, that the love of women was a powerful, and perhaps the only motive, which induced me to abjure my religion.

I am neither ſo vain, nor yet ſo ridiculous, to extol myſelf without reaſon; but then I am not ſo fooliſhly ſhame-faced, not to ſay things in my own vindication, when true. I dare aver therefore, there is perhaps, not a man of my ſort, who is more reſerved than myſelf upon the article of women: If I have had ſome miſtreſſes, I have never ſtooped to underlings; and I have too much honour to ſtain the reputation of any woman, with whom I may have chanced to have had an intrigue. Beſides, I am perſuaded there is no pleaſure in an amour, unleſs the heart has alſo a ſhare therein; and as that is not ſufficient for two different objects at a time, I have always confined myſelf to one alone at once. In ſhort, the lovely *Salviati* poſſeſſed it ſo entirely, it would have been altogether impoſſible for me to have ſhared it amongſt others, however beautiful and perfect they might have been. I paſs over theſe calumnies ſlightly, to proceed to occurrences of more moment.

Already for about a month had I ſettled my domeſtic concerns, and enjoyed in my own houſe, a life a thouſand times more agreeable, than at the *Kaimakan*'s;

Kaimakan's; already I began to reliſh, with great ſatisfaction, the ſweets of this delightful abode, and received all manner of company there; for I think I have already ſaid I love to ſee people of all ſorts: In effect, ſome are diverting by their wit, and others again by their folly, and one may take advantage of all for one's own amuſement; in ſhort, my condition ſeemed perfectly happy. Fortune is an extravagant, ſaid I to myſelf; ſhe thought to injure me as much as poſſible, has ſhewn her hatred, and diſhonoured herſelf to no purpoſe, with intent to overwhelm me. Trifles, with enemies who are in power, do more prejudice than actual crimes, where no enemies concern themſelves about them: Thus did I argue about thoſe jealous wretches, who began to be uneaſy at the ſecret interviews, I had already had, and was ſtill honoured with by the *Sultan*.

Begging pardon however for this digreſſion, already had I ſent orders for the embarkation of my dear ſpouſe, the beautiful *Salviati*; (to whom I had written an exact account of all my affairs, whereto I had received ſeveral anſwers,) when the cruel letters of *Barnetti*, with whom I had left her, came to my hand. On peruſing them, the mutes with the fatal bow ſtring, would not undoubtedly have made ſo lively and ſo great an impreſſion upon my ſoul. I remained a conſiderable time quite motionleſs; and, from that moment, continued ſo buried in thought, that all manner of company became inſupportable to me.

Next day I apprized the *Grand Signior* and the *Kaimakan*, of this heart-wounding news; and they endeavoured in vain to comfort me; nothing could alleviate my ſorrow; inſomuch that I ſhut myſelf like a recluſe in my chamber, to give myſelf wholly up to all the horrors of ſolitude. I ordered my

ſlaves

ſlaves never to appear before me unleſs when called; and to refuſe entrance to all, without diſtinction, who came to my door, either to viſit me, or about buſineſs; that I might apply myſelf without ceaſing to unravel the truth, whereof I had only a confuſed glimpſe, that would ſometimes break through an impenetrable abyſs.

This change in my behaviour grieved my friends, and rejoiced my enemies; every one being perſuaded I was under diſgrace: Nay, a report was even ſpread that *Achmet* would deliver me up to the emperor of *Germany*, on a promiſe from him to reſtore the city of *Belgrade*. In ſhort, my melancholy increaſed upon me from day to day; and as it is one of the bad properties attending upon overwhelming ſorrow, that by refuſing all manner of converſation, one remains a ſtranger to whatever paſſes, ſo I obſerved the deepeſt conſternation imprinted upon the faces of all my domeſticks, (not one lifting up his eyes, or uttering one ſyllable,) without knowing to what to aſcribe it.

As this gloomy ſilence however, with all theſe marks of the moſt profound ſorrow, ſeemed to foretell, that ſome miſchief was plotting againſt me, having ſeen the *French* renegade, who had ſold me the ſeat where I then lived, in my gardens, I reſolved to ſpeak to him. This man had acquired the eſteem of the *Turks*, by his impoſtures and pretended viſions, which had no other foundation than his own forgeries. Nevertheleſs he had deceived them ſo artfully, that he paſſed with them for a zealous *Muſſulman*, and even for a prophet. Aſſoon as the renegade ſaw me appear, he came with a cringing air, and ſhewed me all manner of ſubmiſſion; but my ſorrow prevented my making any return thereto.

Sage

Sage *Muſſulman*, ſaid I, you behold here, a man overwhelmed with the deepeſt deſpair; I then ſhewed him the letter of the villanous *Barnetts*. The renegade, who as has been already obſerved, pretended to the gift of prophecy, having peruſed the contents, ſeem'd like one of thoſe viſionaries, who give out they are inſpired by the *Holy Ghoſt*.

A moment after he cried out, 'O illuſtrious 'Baſſa, worthy and intrepid count *Bonneval*, is this 'the ſole cauſe of all your bitter ſorrows? Is it this 'that has induced you to renounce the company of 'mankind? Ceaſe your grief, your ſpouſe is a lady 'of ſtrict virtue. In vain do the blackeſt calumnies endeavour to blaſt her reputation, ſhe will 'triumph over her enemies, and convince you of her 'fidelity. You will behold her again this tender 'wife, but it will not be till after having undergone many great troubles and misfortunes. Give 'entire credit to theſe words, they are dictated by 'the ſpirit.' In effect he conjectured right; after which, without allowing me time to anſwer, he gave me an exact account of all the falſe rumours, occaſioned by my ſolitary humour; and this induced me to ſuſpend my anguiſh, and return to my ordinary courſe of life.

Hereupon, all theſe idle ſtories were ſoon at an end; whereat they who envied me were mortified, and my friends comforted; nevertheleſs, as it is very difficult to make a ſudden tranſition from exceſſive grief to a perfect tranquility, many marks of my inward ſorrow would frequently break out in my behaviour, whatever conſtraint I could put upon myſelf. My heart, which imagined itſelf highly injured in the moſt ſenſible part, could never be entirely at eaſe, till I was aſſured of the innocence of my dear *Salviati*.

However

However, the *Sultan*, to whom I appeared more compoſed, would have had me marry a young *Circaſſian*, whoſe beauty was greatly extolled; and who had not been in the *Seraglio* above ſix months: But her charms could not tempt me. Accordingly, I thanked *Achmet* with the moſt lively expreſſions of gratitude, (for this was a mark of the moſt diſtinguiſhing favour,) but declined the offer, and told him, 'I have 'reſolved, O illuſtrious and moſt gracious emperor, 'to renounce women for the reſt of my days.'

From the *Seraglio* I went to viſit the *Kaimakan*, who embraced me ſo heartily, that the big drops trickled down my face; he was moved thereat, and kindly united his tears with mine. It was at this time he gave me the advice above mentioned: After which, with intent to mitigate my ſorrows, he detained me to ſup with him, and related the particulars of his life; which ſeem to me affecting enough to merit being communicated to the public.

THE

STORY

OF

MEHEMET ADDIN,

KAIMAKAN, or GOVERNOUR

OF

CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE city of *Croia* was the place of my nativity; my father a *Chriſtian* of the *Greek* church, and very zealous for his religion. An inſurrection, cauſed by the tyranny of the *Turks*, broke out, the *Ottomans* conquered, and my father died with arms in his hand, fighting manfully in defence of the rights of his oppreſſed country. Being the only fruit of an unfortunate and unſuitable match, my mother abandons

bandons me, and delivers me up into the hands of the *Baſſa*. She preſerves her own life, and makes me the victim of her reſentment, and her inordiate love. In ſhort, ſhe turns *Mahometan*, marries a *Turk*, and has me carried off by the *Grand Signior*'s emiſſaries; who ſent me to *Conſtantinople*, where I was ſhut up in the college at *Pera*, being then hardly eight years old.

No pains were there ſpared about my education; it was there I imbibed the firſt principles of the *Alcoran*; and it was there the cruel knife of circumciſion tore me for ever from the boſom of Chriſtianity. A pious and ſevere derviſe, to whoſe care I was intruſted, inſpired me with ſuch high ideas of the *Mahometan* religion, that I became one of its moſt zealous partizans. He made me learn the whole *Alcoran* by heart; and explained to me all its tenets with ſuch deep penetration, that at the age of fourteen I was able to inſtruct others, in its moſt fundamental points; and to interpret the fine allegories, under which they are veiled, with an exactneſs and perſpicuity that ſurprized the moſt learned *Imans*.

This my uncommon progreſs gained me a great reputation; and, in a word, I was choſen by the *Sultan*'s order, to be one of the tutors of the princes *Soliman* and *Achmet*. The latter is now poſſeſſed of the throne; and I may even boaſt that I contributed not a little, towards enabling him to ſupplant his brother, to whom it belonged of right by birth. I leave the college then, and enter the *Seraglio*, where I again diſtinguiſh myſelf by my regular behaviour, by my knowledge, and by my cloſe application to learn every thing that was neceſſary for a young man, who is deſigned to be advanced to conſiderable employments.

I taught theſe princes the fundamentals of religion, whilſt others inſtructed me in military exerciſes; and my maſters finding me teachable, and attentive to every thing they were deſirous I ſhould learn, took abundance of pains to render me capable of being highly ſerviceable to the empire. They ſtudied to make me ſurpaſs all thoſe of my own age, and were ſucceſsful in their endeavours; in effect, few perſons could uſe a ſabre or ſcymeter with more dexterity than myſelf, and I was particularly excellent at throwing a javelin on horſeback: And as this was an exerciſe wherein the princes took great delight, I applied myſelf diligently to it, being perſuaded I ſhould thereby deſerve their favour and regard. But love, fatal love, interpoſed on a ſudden to diſturb my reſt; and ſeemed to indulge me at firſt with its deluſive joys, only to precipitate me afterwards into an abyſs of misfortunes and miſery.

One day as I was going to the moſque of *St. Sophia*, I ſaw a box, enriched with precious ſtones, roll juſt before me; upon which I picked it up, and opening it, found therein a note containing theſe words; [*if* Addin *were tender and amorous, how happy would he the fate of* Zulima!] This adventure cauſed in me a ſudden emotion and exceſſive tranſports, as I knew this charming perſon by report, and every one extolled her beauty and virtue; beſides which, her father, who was *Capi-Agaſi*, or chief porter, honoured me with a tender friendſhip, of which he had given me ſeveral convincing proofs. I did nothing then, the whole night, but muſe upon this adventure; which dwelt ſo upon my mind, that my uneaſineſs would not ſuffer me to ſleep; one thing in particular troubled me; and this was how to acquaint *Zulima* with my flame.

Happening

Happening to know an artful *Jeweſs*, I addreſs myſelf to her, and ſhe undertook to get admiſſion my charmer: Accordingly ſhe did ſo; and gave her ſo faithful and ſo moving an account of the paſſion ſhe had ſeen painted in my eyes, that this lovely maiden could not help diſcovering ſeveral tokens of her joy, without either bounds or reſtraint. 'Aſ-'ſure *Addin*, ſaid ſhe, ſqueezing her hand, 'that he is the happieſt of lovers;' neither was ſhe long before ſhe gave me proofs of it. The *Jeweſs* returned thither next day with a letter I had given her in charge, and brought me an anſwer to it, which was as follows. 'I am overjoyed at thy ſen-'timents; I believe them ſincere, and that I ſhall 'have no cauſe to repent of the ſteps I have taken. 'Be this night, two hours after the laſt prayer time, 'under the gallery that looks upon the *Hippodrome:* 'A faithful ſlave will introduce thee into her cham-'ber, whither I will come; but be diſcreet, and 'take care of my father, for he would betray thee.'

Aſſoon as the ſun, whoſe light appears ſo tedious to lovers, that are impatient for the dark covert of the night, had taken leave of our hemiſphere, I go to prayers, and fly afterwards to the *Hippodrome*, that I might appear the more punctual to this charming aſſignation. Already, for above three hours, had I longed for the pleaſing moment that had been appointed; already was it paſſed, and, beginning to deſpair, I was about to retire, when, hearing a noiſe, I ſtop ſhort, examine whence it proceeds, and perceive a glimmering light.

At laſt a door opens; I go in, ſomebody takes me by the hand and ſqueezes it very tenderly. Is it you adorable *Zulima*, cried I, tranſported with exceſſive joy? No, my lord, anſwered this perſon, with an unaſſured voice, I am not the daughter of *Haſſan*, (ſo was the *Capi-Agaſi* named.) Excuſe then my

my raptures, ſaid I; after which ſhe conducted me into a very neat chamber, where the ſlave left me, and a moment after *Zulima* appears.

It would be very difficult, to deſcribe in a lively manner this firſt interview; for, inſtead of entertaining each other with paſſionate ſpeeches, and tender proteſtations, we gazed on each other without uttering a ſyllable. There was in our eyes and countenances I know not what trouble, I know not what baſhful, but expreſſive and affecting diſorder that mutually inflamed us, and increaſed our paſſion for each other. I embrace her knees, and kiſs her hand tenderly; upon which, being diſtruſtful both of my reſpect and her own love, 'farewel cried 'ſhe, getting looſe from me on a ſudden, thy tri-'umph is compleat ſince thou obligeſt me to have 'recourſe to flight. This ſaid, ſhe vaniſhed.'

I was then conducted back again in the ſame manner as I was introduced; but the charms of *Zulima* had cauſed in me a ſort of ſtupefaction, inſomuch that, when I was got into the *Hippodrome*, I continued motionleſs, and juſt like a man who ſees the pleaſing repreſentations of an agreeable dream, put to flight by an unwelcome interruption of his ſlumbers; but to return.

Ten days paſſed away without my receiving any news from *Zulima*; and I began to deſpair thereof, when the *Jeweſs* brought me a ſecond letter; which I opened eagerly, and found therein to this effect.

'The ten days that are elapſed without my hav-'ing a ſight of thee have been the moſt melan-'choly of my life; I expect thee this night at the 'ſame place and at the ſame hour. An ugly dream 'makes me very uneaſy, and foretells me that you 'are inconſtant; be aſtoniſhed, *Addin*, at the ten-'derneſs of the too fond *Zulima*.'

The laſt words of this letter trouble me; I examine my conduct ſcrupulouſly, and could find nothing therein worthy of reproach; I fly then to this ſecond appointment, and as ſoon as the door opens I advance with an amorous impatience, and run to throw myſelf at the feet of the adorable *Zulima*. In vain ſhould I attempt to expreſs the delights of this ſecond meeting; one cannot repreſent love ſo charming as he is; tranſporting pleaſures, extatic joys, delicious moments, never more will you return!

With what rapidity did the hours of this happy night fly away? Already the bright luminary of the day had begun to gild the domes of the Moſques, and the birds were again chanting their ſalutations of the morning; when, you muſt be gone, cried *Zulima*, with a charming tranſport, how much do theſe otherwiſe harmonious warblings afflict me! theſe amiable ſongſters rejoice, on beholding that light that obliges us to part, I would ſtill have begged another moment's converſation, but no, ſaid ſhe, haſte away, I am too much afraid you will be ſeen; I held her by the hand, but ſhe put on a haughty look which made me tremble, and told me with an imperious air, I will be obeyed; whereupon I durſt no longer refuſe complying.

Such was the ſituation of my affairs, till I was twenty years old; when my fortune began to change on a ſudden. Not only I beheld *Zulima* no more, but was informed ſhe was become falſe to me, and that it was ſhe who had drawn down upon me the *Sultan*'s diſpleaſure.

Haſſan, father to *Zulima*, though in other reſpects a pretty honeſt man, was actuated by the moſt unbounded ambition; and though fortune had always been favourable to him, ſhe had not yet been able to ſatisfy his vaſt deſires: he reſolved, therefore, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to inſpire

Soliman

Soliman, the eldeſt of the two princes, who is now confined in the old *Seraglio*, with a love for his daughter. He was well acquainted with his Inclinations; and theſe prompted him entirely to the delights of *Venus*: Beſides, he was fully perſuaded this prince would aſcend the throne, preferably to *Achmet*. His right of elderſhip, with the exceſſive love his mother, the preſent *Sultana Valide* had for him, and the unprecedented power and credit of that *Sultaneſs*, left no room to doubt of his being choſen emperor unanimouſly, after the death of his highneſs.

Haſſan, then, full of theſe pleaſing notions, ſoon found the means to render *Soliman* enamoured with his daughter; ſome friends, whom he had gained and who were the favourites of that weak prince, gave him ſo flattering a deſcription of her, that he readily determined to ſee and enjoy her. Accordingly, he at once viewed and adored her; but, as the *Ottoman* princes are not allowed either to chuſe themſelves wives, or even to have concubines before they aſcend the throne, it became neceſſary to keep this intrigue very ſecret. Meanwhile, *Zulima*, overjoyed at having gain'd ſo illuſtrious a conqueſt, reſolved to ruin me as ſoon as ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of *Soliman*'s heart; and this her behaviour to me rendered her highly criminal, and utterly unworthy of that prince's love. Judging that my exceſſive paſſion for her would tranſport me to ſome indiſcretion, and even to fury, ſhe determined to ſacrifice me to her ambition and ſafety, by owning to her father our nocturnal interviews.

The *Capi-Agaſi*, who was abſolutely poſſeſſed of *Soliman*'s favour, ſince that prince had become ſo exceſſively fond of his daughter, incenſed him ſo much againſt me, that all the good will and credit of his brother *Achmet* were of no ſervice to me. The

Sultana Valide, whom he had prejudiced againſt me, demanded ſo earneſtly my diſmiſſion from the *Seraglio*, that at length ſhe prevailed; and the tears and ſollicitations of *Achmet* to move her compaſſion were all in vain; no regard being ſhown to them. This whole intrigue was concerted and brought to perfection within three months. During this interval, *Zulima*, to keep me in ſuſpence, cauſed the *Jeweſs* to tell me, that her father having had ſome ſuſpicion of our meetings, had given ſuch ſtrict orders, it was impoſſible for her, either to admit me, or even to write to me: She aſſured me however of her inviolable affection; and I was weak enough to be impoſed on by this groſs artifice, and was accordingly bubbled by her.

Meanwhile, the cruel *Haſſan* compleated my misfortunes with ſo much ſecreſy and diligence, that I could not get the leaſt intelligence of what paſſed: At laſt, I was informed of this whole combination, about a week before I was turned out of the *Seraglio*. This made ſo terrible an impreſſion upon my ſenſes, that I juſt was going to ſtab myſelf, had not *Achmet*, who ſurprized me in thoſe extravagant tranſports, with-held my arm. What would you do *Addin*, cried he? What fury poſſeſſes you? I then acquainted him with my amour with *Zulima*, his brother's intrigue, and her perfidy: He before knew me to be in love; I had made no ſecret of it to him; but he was a ſtranger to the object of my deſires.

At laſt *Achmet*, as much moved at his brother's indiſcreet conduct, as at my exceſſive grief, cried out, be of good heart *Addin*, I will revenge you upon your falſe-one: My brother's weakneſs makes me foreſee an exalted fortune, becauſe it gives me a right to aſpire to the throne to his prejudice. You muſt inform the *Mufti*, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and the chief of the black eunuchs, of this affair; you

you know they are entirely devoted to me; and this will be the ready way for you to riſe to the moſt conſiderable employments; for I believe you have no doubt of my affection for you, and know that, when I am once poſſeſſed of the empire, you will enjoy all my favour: Make yourſelf then quite eaſy *Addin*, cried this too gracious prince, and embraced me.

Greatly moved at his tender friendſhip, I was aſhamed of having offered to lay violent hands upon myſelf, and given way to ſuch furious tranſports, for an unworthy jilt: Accordingly my deſpair ceaſed, but my love continued ſtill the ſame, and remained ſo a conſiderable time, notwithſtanding the treachery of my fair inconſtant. As it generally happens, that one misfortune is attended with ſome other, I was acquainted next day, that I was named an officer in the army in *Hungary*; and that I was to leave the *Seraglio* in a week, and *Conſtantinople* in a fortnight: Whereat *Achmet* ſeemed ſo greatly afflicted, that my own ſorrows gave way to my deſire of aſſuaging his; which in reality was his deſign, in appearing ſo much grieved.

Prince, ſaid I, 'tis not without the moſt ſenſible concern, that I am about to leave you; I am going to fight againſt your enemies; and hope a ſpeedy reunion will be the fruit of my good fortune; I am going, though I leave you, to inform all the great officers of the empire of your brother's diſhonourable intrigues; my gratitude for your goodneſs, will conſtrain me to expoſe my life, to induce all the chief officers of the army, to take up arms in your favour; and I don't at all doubt, but at my return you will be ſeated upon the throne, which you deſerve by a thouſand amiable qualities that adorn you. (In effect, that prince was then endued with all thoſe ſublime virtues which form a hero; but

his exceſſive love for women has ſullied all his glory.) Retain for me, then, O illuſtrious prince, the ſame kindneſs with which you now honour me; I deſerve it, if you conſider my ſincere devotion to your auguſt perſon. Try to get away, and come and join me; but before your departure, gain over the affection and intereſt of the three chief officers of the *Porte*; and depend upon my care and vigilance for the reſt.

This ſaid, I leave him, go out of the *Seraglio*, run to the quarters of the *Spahis*, and offer myſelf to the general: My name is taken down upon the roll; a horſe and arms are given me, and I ſet out with them about ten days after. As ſoon as the *Aga* of the janizaries, the *Mufti*, the chief of the black eunuchs, and the great officers of the army had heard of *Soliman*'s intrigues and amour with *Zulima*, they cried out, he is unworthy of the throne, *Addin*; thou may'ſt aſſure *Achmet* of our entire devotion to his ſervice. I ſent an account away immediately of this agreeable news to that prince, by a faithful page; whom he diſpatched again back to me, to thank me for my diligence, and to preſent me in his name with a very rich ſcymeter, which I have always preſerved with the greateſt care.

The day I arrived at the camp was ſo near that of the general battle, that I could not find any favourable opportunity to compleat the execution of my deſign; I reſolved therefore to wait the iſſue of that important day; and I heartily wiſhed our troops might be defeated, that, as they were already diſſatisfied at this war, they might the more eaſily be incited to mutiny. My deſires were partly accompliſhed; our army were cut in pieces by the policy of prince *Eugene*, in conjunction with thine *Baſſa Bonneval*: I have been even informed, that had it not been for thy

thy advice, we ſhould have gained a compleat victory.

I was wounded towards the end of the engagement; taken priſoner; and conducted to *Belgrade*; from thence I was removed to *Vienna*; where I found the means to eſcape, with intent to go on to *Venice*. The miſery to which I was reduced, being quite pennyleſs and almoſt naked, obliged me to ſtop at a village in the neighbourhood of *Padua*. A charitable countryman took me in; and afterwards propoſed to hire me as a ſervant, to aſſiſt him in tilling his grounds; which I accepted very readily, not knowing which way to turn myſelf.

Scarce had I lived a month with this charitable man, when, charmed with my diſcreet and orderly behaviour, he cloathed me very decently, and hired me as his ſervant for a year. *Signior Remigi*, for ſo was my new maſter called, had a daughter about eighteen, who was very amiable; and I was young, pretty well made, ſtrong and vigorous. *Antonia*, that was her name, ſoon captivated my affections; nor was I diſpleaſing to her; we explained ourſelves inſenſibly to each other, at firſt by our eyes, and afterwards by a more pathetic language: In ſhort, our mutual love became at laſt ſo violent, that my young miſtreſs conſented to my running away with her. This deſign was very raſh and dangerous; they ſhew no favour at *Venice* upon this head; accordingly we were expoſed to a very grievous diſappointment. We were both ſeized on; my miſtreſs confined in a monaſtery; and myſelf fettered and hand-cuffed, and thruſt into a dungeon.

There was no manner of rigorous uſage, which I did not experience, during three months that I continued in that diſmal place: I was then obliged to undergo a ſevere examination, which was followed by

a ſentence, that condemned me to the gallies for life. My condition began now to be ſomewhat leſs unfortunate; I had the ſweet conſolation to enjoy the light of the day, and earn my livelihood at twenty little works, which I had learnt in the *Seraglio*. My ſituation however, tho' otherwiſe pretty eaſy, appeared to me the more diſagreeable, as it was upon compulſion, and altogether out of my ſphere; being informed therefore that *Achmet* had at laſt ſupplanted his brother, and was peaceable poſſeſſor of the throne, I wrote word to that emperor of my melancholy deſtiny, ten or twelve different times, but received no manner of anſwer. The *Sultan* never had one of my letters; and there is great reaſon to believe I ſhould have remained a conſiderable time longer in chains, had it not been for the diſgrace of the *Sultana Valide*.

The chief of the black eunuchs, to whom I had addreſſed them, had loſt his life in the revolution, which had raiſed *Achmet* to the throne; and they fell unfortunately into the hands of that *Sultaneſs*, my moſt cruel enemy. Her continual cabals to excite an inſurrection in favour of *Soliman*, on whom ſhe doated, and who was ſhut up in the old *Seraglio*, obliged *Achmet* at laſt to treat her rather as an enemy, than a mother. He no longer kept then any meaſures with her, but confined her to her apartment, and ſeized on all her papers; which conſiſted only of letters from her partizans, and diſcovered all her pernicious deſigns.

Fortunately for me, mine happened to be amongſt them, and were at laſt read by the *Sultan*; who being overjoy'd to find I was ſtill alive, having been aſſured of my death, with ſo many probable circumſtances, that he made no queſtion of my having fallen in the battle, ſent orders immediately to the *Bailo*, or *Embaſſador* of *Venice*, to write word

to

to the ſenate, to have me ſet at liberty. He even offered, in exchange, twenty *Chriſtian* ſlaves that were on board his galleys; ſo that at two years end I recovered my freedom; and leaving *Venice* ſoon after, returned again in ſafety to *Conſtantinople*, from whence I had been abſent four years.

As ſoon as *Achmet* ſaw me at his feet, he teſtified an extraordinary joy. Ah! generous *Addin*, cried he, how much ſorrow has thy pretended death cauſed me! I ſtill love thee, be aſſured then of all my favour; thy misfortunes are at an end; leave it to me to reward thy devotion to my intereſt. In effect, he did not content himſelf with empty promiſes, for within a month he made me *Kaimakan*, having depoſed my predeceſſor, who had eſpouſed the party of the *Sultana Valide*.

Notwithſtanding this is one of the moſt conſiderable employments in the empire, vanity had but a ſmall ſhare in my joy, for being poſſeſſed of it; and my heart being ſtill devoted to the charms of *Zulima*, this was what moſt ſenſibly affected me. I reſolved then to uſe my utmoſt efforts to poſſeſs her, my tender love to that ungrateful falſe-one having induced me to forget what juſt reaſons ſhe had given me, to reſent her baſeneſs. *Achmet*, in order to revenge me on her, had cauſed her to be ſold to a merchant of *Bagdat*; I diſpatched therefore a faithful meſſenger to that city, with an injunction to ſpare no coſt to deliver her; putting into his hands bills of credit, for fifty thouſand crowns, with ſtrict orders not to return without her.

My emiſſary returned with her, at the end of ſix months; and my joy and tranſports were unbounded; as ſoon as ſhe appeared in my preſence, ſhe ſeemed ſo much moved thereat, that I was mean-ſpirited enough to marry her, and make her my only wife. So unadviſed a ſtep drew upon

upon me, at firſt, very grievous reproaches from the *Sultan*; but I gave him ſo lively and ſo ingenuous a repreſentation of my love, that he ſeemed moved therewith; and at length granted me leave to eſpouſe her, according to our laws, by ſettling on her a portion of thirty thouſand chequins.

Being now arrived at the height of happineſs, by the careſſes ſhe laviſhed upon me, I eaſily perſuaded myſelf her love, which ſeemed to equal mine, was ſincere; and congratulated myſelf upon this agreeable change: But the perfidious wretch deceived me; and I again became the bubble and victim of her wicked heart. In ſhort, my happineſs began to vaniſh, within three months after our nuptials; and ſhe employed my own treaſures, to precipitate me into an abyſs of miſery.

Her inſinuating and flattering ways had acquired her the love of all the women in the *Seraglio*, into which ſhe had free admittance; and certain ſums ſeaſonably diſtributed into proper hands, gained her entirely the good-will of all the principal *Sultana*'s and black eunuchs: To crown all, her criminal complaiſance and addreſs, in favouring their intrigues, obtained her ſo general a reputation, that *Zulima*'s name was never mentioned, but with the moſt extravagant commendations. This character quite aſtoniſhed and impoſed upon the *Sultan*; ſo that every time he ſaw me, he congratulated me on my good fortune, in having a wife endued with ſo much merit.

When ſhe imagined the *Sultan* repoſed ſome confidence in her, ſhe cauſed it artfully to be inſinuated to him, that I had nightly interviews with one of his favourites, by the means of the *Boſtangi-Bachi*. Theſe ſlanders, in a little time, were believed to be truth; ſo that the unfortunate *Sultaneſs* was drowned in the canal; the great gardiner delivered

delivered up to the mutes; and myſelf confined in the caſtle of the *Seven Towers.*

So ſudden a fall ſurprized every one; neither could any body dive into the cauſe of my fatal diſgrace; which was even an impenetrable and unfathomable myſtery to myſelf, which it puzzled all my underſtanding to account for: My whole ſubſtance alſo was confiſcated, and *Zulima* conducted to the *Seraglio.* The tears, this hypocritical wretch had ſhed the moment I was ſeized, left me no manner of ſuſpicion of her conduct; and, in ſhort, I ſhould never have diſcovered, that ſhe had been the ſole cauſe of my misfortune, had it not been for her tragical death, which happened in 1721, on the following occaſion.

Scarce had ſhe been three months in the *Seraglio*, before ſhe ſupplanted, by her artifices, all the favourite *Sultanas*; who at laſt opened their eyes. Her diſſembled ſweetneſs of temper, with her ſeducing careſſes, as ſoon as ſhe had made herſelf entire miſtreſs of the *Sultan*'s too eaſy heart, were changed immediately into ſo extravagant a haughtineſs, that ſhe quickly became as much hated, as ſhe had before been eſteemed; ſhe governed *Achmet* with ſo abſolute a ſway, that he ſacrificed to the reſentment of this vile creature, a number of the fineſt women in his *Seraglio:* In ſhort, her imperious behaviour, and exceſſive cruelties rendered her abhorred by every one, which, with her intriguing, at laſt cauſed her diſgrace and her death.

The *Capi-Agaſi*, her father, who had been baniſhed to *Candia*, on *Achmet*'s advancement to the throne, obtained ſoon permiſſion to return to court. My fall, and *Zulima*'s entrance into the *Seraglio*, reeſtabliſhed his fortune, as faſt as that baſe wretch gained ground in the *Sultan*'s favour. He roſe by degrees, and with uncommon progreſs, to divers poſts, till

till he became at laſt *Boſtangi-Bachi*. As chief of the gardens, he had all the keys; inſomuch that he favoured the amours of his own daughter herſelf, with ſo little precaution, that there was no-body but the *Sultan*, who would not believe it.

Zulima's gallant was a young *Greek* of *Canea*, as beautiful as *Adonis*, who had done *Haſſan* ſome important ſervices during his exile. When he was recalled to *Conſtantinople*, he forced this young man to bear him company, on pretence of recompenſing him for the good offices he had rendered him: In effect, *Mauritius Alexis*, ſo was this handſome *Greek* named, had always lived with *Haſſan*, till his promotion to the office of great gardiner. Her father had often entertained *Zulima* with encomiums on the charms and merit of this *Alexis*, and as the heart of this profligate was altogether corrupted, and ſhe knew no other ſovereign happineſs than in lewdneſs and debauchery, ſhe had a fancy to ſee this charming young man, and reſolved to give way to her inclinations.

Alexis overjoyed that a lady of ſuch rank would condeſcend to ſtoop to him, took advantage of the favourable diſpoſition of this *Sultaneſs*; and their infamous correſpondence laſted above a year, without the *Sultan*'s having the leaſt miſtruſt thereof; although he had been ſeveral times informed of the want of diſcretion of this his favourite. But at length, *Zulima* having rendered herſelf abſolutely inſupportable to the reſt of the women in the *Seraglio*, they agreed in conſpiring her deſtruction. Many of them were not a jot more reſerved in their conduct than her; the too complaiſant *Boſtangi-Bachi* favoured their intrigues alſo; nevertheleſs, they choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to certain death, than to truckle any longer to the will of this imperious favourite.

One

One night, then, having obſerved her in a dark walk with her *Inamorato*, and knowing that the *Sultan* was in the *Kioſk* of the fountains, they fly to him, and importune him ſo much, that they prevail on him to go with them to the grove where ſhe was. Any other but *Zulima* would have been overwhelmed with confuſion; but ſhe was a ſtranger to ſhame: Accordingly ſhe appeared confidently before him, and addreſſed him as follows, with equal inſolence and impudence.

'I deſerve death *Achmet*; I have no longer any 'thing to deſire in this world, nor to hope for in 'the other. Though greatly inclined to love, I 'knew always how to make it yield to ambition. 'Being only the daughter of a *Capi-Agaſi*, my for-'tune ſeemed to me too narrow not to try all means 'to raiſe myſelf to a higher rank. I thought to 'advance myſelf conſiderably, by captivating *Ad-'din*, being ſatisfied he engroſſed all your favour. 'Your brother *Soliman* ſupplanted him; alas! 'could I deny the heir apparent to the throne? I 'loved him not, I adored *Addin*, but my vanity 'ſilenced my ſoft deſires.

'Being come to the throne in ſpite of my wiſhes, 'which were all for *Soliman*, you puniſhed me ſe-'verely; a hard ſlavery made me feel your hand 'but too ſenſibly. The love of *Addin* delivered 'me from thence; but I then thirſted only after re-'venge.

'Unmoved by his kindneſs, I accepted his 'hand, merely to compleat my vengeance the more 'ſecurely. I took advantage of the rank to which 'he raiſed me, and laviſhed away of his riches to 'ſuborn your flatterers, and induce them to make 'you jealous of him. Though intirely innocent, 'you condemned him as guilty, whereat I was o-'verjoy'd. Pleaſed and encouraged, by my ſuc-

ceſs

'ceſs hitherto in my deſigns, I was deſirous of 'putting the finiſhing hand to the work; by mak-'ing you likewiſe ſenſible, a woman is not to be 'offended with impunity.

'I reſolved then to captivate your eaſy heart 'and to reduce it to ſubjection to my will; not 'that I had any love for you, but to puniſh you 'alſo for the hardſhips you made me undergo. I 'have gained my ends; how great is my pleaſure, 'in having not only ſupplanted all my rivals, but 'alſo in having induced them to play you falſe! I 'have had one child ſince you took me into your 'palace, but it does not belong to you; it owes 'its birth to a gallant I doated on. Behold me, 'then, now fully revenged, what farther do 'you want to give me my death? Is it love that 'withholds your hand? Well then! I will ſpare 'you the pains of ſacrificing me to your reſent-'ment.' This ſaid, ſhe plunged a *Kangiar* or poniard into her breaſt and expired; a death too mild for an infamous profligate, blackened with the moſt horrible crimes.

Achmet, equally ſtruck with the tragic death, and with the ſpeech of *Zulima*, was ſeized with the moſt dreadful fury; no longer hearkening to any thing but his rage, he cauſes *Haſſan* and the *Greek* to be ſtrangled immediately, and orders afterwards the body of that wretched woman, to be thrown into the canal. Not yet ſatisfied, he has twenty-nine of the *Sultana*'s drowned, and thirty of the black eunuchs beheaded.

This cruel execution was a great blemiſh to *Achmet*'s reputation, and has begun to alienate the hearts of the people from him: Nevertheleſs, he has been able to ſupport himſelf hitherto; but his throne totters, and I am apprehenſive of an approaching revolution. Having been informed of this tragic

ſcene,

ſcene, I no longer doubted of my pardon, and flattered myſelf with the thoughts of being ſoon delivered from the *Seven Towers*. In effect, as ſoon as the *Sultan*'s fury was appeaſed, he was aſhamed of having treated me ſo ſeverely; and cauſed me to be taken out of priſon, and re-eſtabliſhed in my employment.

I forgot to tell you, that *Haſſan* was a *Greek*, and had abjured his religion, only to get a place in the *Seraglio*. Now there is no nation, however ungovernable it may be, more perfidious, more corrupted, or more wicked than the preſent *Greeks*. Their ſtupid pride, attended with all manner of crimes, give the *Mahometans* an utter abhorrence of *Chriſtianity*, becauſe they imagine all the *Chriſtians* are equally corrupted. Theſe are unjuſt prejudices, it is true, but they are confirmed by the conduct of many other *Chriſtians*, who don't behave much better. For, although the *Franks* are ſomewhat honeſter in their dealings, and there are a number of diſcreet and ſober perſons amongſt them, nevertheleſs, the ſenſual pleaſures to which moſt of them abandon themſelves, without any reſtraint, give the *Turks* no very great opinion of the *Chriſtian* religion. But let us leave moral diſcourſes, it belongs to our *Imans* to preach them.

Since this melancholy event, I have hardly any further correſpondence with the emperor; and never approach him, but when I am obliged to it, by the duties of my poſt: I have alſo abſolutely renounced all wives; and have confined myſelf to two concubines, who are ſweet temper'd and agreeable; neither do I reſort to them but very ſeldom.

Well, *Baſſa Bonneval*, are your misfortunes comparable to mine? nevertheleſs I have taken comfort, and my mind is at preſent eaſy; I hope alſo, that time will reſtore you to that tranquillity, of which

which the fair *Salviati* has deprived you; nay, perhaps ſhe is innocent; in ſhort I wiſh you may again behold her tender and faithful; ſuch are the vows I ſhall offer up for you, during your abſence: But be ruled by me, I repeat it again, remove from court for ſome time; be perſuaded of my entire eſteem, and that I ſhall never forget you.

As ſoon as the *Kaimakan* had concluded, I acquainted him with the offer made me by *Achmet*, concerning the beautiful *Circaſſian*, and the prophecy of the *French* renegade, about my wife. You acted like a prudent man, ſaid he, in declining the *Sultan*'s favour; for not only it would have increaſed the jealouſy of your enemies, but you are advanced in years, and ſuch a young perſon would create you abundance of vexation, by her intrigues: Beſides, you don't ſeem to me to be fortunate in love, ſuppoſing your ſpouſe to be guilty of thoſe crimes whereof ſhe is accuſed.

As to DAVID TRUTH, as the *French* renegade, known in *Europe* by the name of *David Galiot*, is called, I know not what to think of that man: Be they forgeries or revelations, it is certain he has foretold things, which appeared altogether incredible, and which, nevertheleſs have come to paſs at the time prefixed. I have no faith, believe me, in viſionaries, or enthuſiaſts; and accordingly I looked upon him at firſt as a lunatic; but his predictions have appeared to me ſo juſt, that I can't help thinking him, at preſent, a very extraordinary perſon. I have been in his company at certain times, when I have been ſtrangely ſurprized at the excellent and ſublime diſcourſes he uttered, with an aſſurance that they were revelations. I knew not what to imagine, or what to ſay, only that if it was an illuſion or an impoſture, it was become infectious to me; for I am grown as credulous as the reſt of the *Turks*, who all believe

believe he has ſome familiar dæmon, as the ancients gave out concerning *Socrates.*

Ah! ſage *Kaimakan*, anſwered I, be aſſured there is no reality in this man's enthuſiaſm; you will be fully convinced of it, if you only reflect ſeriouſly. You perſuade yourſelf, he has a correſpondence with ſome ſpirit; and of what order muſt this ſpirit be? It cannot be ſaid it is a white angel, for if we give credit to what is related about the life of this man, it has been too diſſolute and licentious: And if it is a black angel, I can't help miſtruſting all its predictions, ſince they only ſtudy to deceive and corrupt poor mortals.

Were I to ſuppoſe he had repented of all his crimes, and had obtained a full pardon for them, you muſt agree with me, that an intercourſe with white angels, is a favour heaven does not eaſily grant; that, in order to have a regular and familiar correſpondence with them, it is neceſſary to have attained to a high degree of perfection; and to come hardly ſhort of the purity of thoſe celeſtial beings. Believe me then, theſe are only the ſymptoms of a melancholy humour that troubles him, and his vapours give riſe to his predictions, ſuppoſing he does not endeavour to impoſe upon the people, by an artful impoſture.

Here ended our converſation, and my viſit; we then wiſhed each other a good night, and next morning I left the *Kaimakan*'s, and returned home. The recital of his adventures had comforted me a little; and as the *French* renegade had ſoothed my grief, and I was deſirous of a more thorough knowledge of him, that I might be able to form a juſt judgment of the man, I ſent him an invitation to dine with me thrice a week, which he promiſed with great demonſtrations of joy.

Being again arrived at my ſolitude, I began to reflect deliberately upon my preſent circumſtances; and the thought of my dear *Salviati*, with the fear of being forever deprived of her, frequently got the better of the alarming occurrences, with which the *Kaimakan* had threatened me, and the misfortunes that might befal me, in caſe of a revolution. Sometimes I reſolved to be gone, and ſometimes to continue quiet in my own houſe; there is no real happineſs in this life, ſaid I, within myſelf, without peace of mind. This is what every one endeavours to acquire, and may be obtained different ways; ſome arrive at it by the ſtrength of reaſoning, and others by reſignation. The fortitude of mind of the one, and the tractable temper of the others, endues them with a ſubmiſſion to all that paſſes here below; and this indifference leads them on to tranquility. The things that amuſe mankind are but meer trifles; they have but a very ſmall hand in their own deſtinies; and we are only happy ſo far as we ſuffer ourſelves to be guided by providence, which orders all things wiſely; and my lamentations or grief, will not neither advance, or retard in the leaſt, what it has appointed concerning me.

Theſe are fine reaſonings, added I; but am I capable of this reſignation, or this philoſophy, which ſilences the complaints and ſorrows of the unhappy? No, I have not ſufficient reſolution for this; prudence muſt direct my ſteps, both to prevent my misfortunes, and put an end to the complainings of my heart. Let me write then to *Venice*; I have ſome friends there, men of probity, who certainly will not impoſe upon me, concerning my wife; and let me next inform the *Sultan*, that the private interviews with which he honours me, are known and envied by his great officers, and that if he continues his favours, they may coſt me my life.

Having

Having thus concluded on theſe two points, I put them into execution within two or three days; the *Bailo* of *Venice*, took upon himſelf to ſend my letters, and *Achmet* promiſed all I deſired of him; ſo that I afterwards ſaw his highneſs but very ſeldom: I diſpoſed myſelf alſo, by degrees, to ſet out ſoon for my government; providing there were any grounds for the aſperſions, with which *Barnetti* had blacken'd my ſpouſe. Beſides this, I employed myſelf in doing ſome acts of charity; as redeeming from bondage threeſcore ſlaves, who were toiling at the repairs of the walls of *Conſtantinople*; in which good work the *Jeſuits* and *Capuchins* ſeconded me; ſo that it coſt me but about eight thouſand *chequins*.

Amongſt theſe unfortunate wretches, were two *Switzers* of *Lucerne*, who devoted themſelves ever after to my ſervice, and never would abandon me. They have ſhown ſo much bravery, in the divers expeditions I made into *Arabia*, againſt the rebels of that country, that I obtained for them, in the laſt war in *Hungary*, pretty conſiderable poſts, for perſons of their rank. They have alſo accompanied me at preſent to *Chio*, though into a ſort of baniſhment, which is a ſufficient proof of their uncommon value for me.

Mean while, *Galiot*, or *David Truth*, coming conſtantly to me, contributed not a little to ſuſpend my ſorrows: He aſſured me ſo poſitively, I ſhould again behold the beauteous *Salviati*, affectionate and conſtant, that he had almoſt perſuaded me to it. Be ruled by me, illuſtrious *Baſſa*, ſaid this man continually; go, take a journey to *Arabia*, 'tis the counſel of a friend, the *Kaimakan* has given you; your abſence is neceſſary for your welfare; nay, I ſay abſolutely neceſſary: And he confirmed his advice with ſuch ſolid arguments, that I could not refuſe him ſome ſhare in my eſteem.

In effect, it is certain he had a fine underſtanding; had read much; and was perfectly well acquainted with the holy ſcriptures: I ſay, *perfectly well*, becauſe he knew them in a manner by heart. This is an undoubted truth, and what might be atteſted, by a great number of perſons of honour; it is a pity chriſtianity has loſt ſuch an uſeful member. It is, however, equally certain, that nothing but his rogueries; obliged him to retire amongſt the *Turks* as will be ſeen by his ſtory, which here follows in few words.

THE

THE STORY OF THE RENEGADE *GALIOT.*

AS ſoon as corruption had once got entrance into the heart of man, and he does not oppoſe its progreſs, there is great dangerd of its leading him on to impiety, licentiouſneſs, diſſoluteneſs both in mind and behaviour, incredulity, and atheiſm; ſuch is the fatal circle, into which a debauchee is inſenſibly drawn. In effect, there are perhaps fewer who are unbelievers through principle and reaſoning, than through certain inward

motives, which incline them to doubting. The depraved mind rejects all proofs, to adopt certain prejudices; and these induce them to conclude, that human policy alone has invented all laws, deities and religions.

The desires they have a mind to gratify and indulge, incite men to reject the gospel, because they find therein their own condemnation; they see too great an inconsistence, between those predominant inclinations, and the precepts, enjoined by *Jesus Christ*; besides, their vanity is highly flattered, in distinguishing themselves by being singular, and going out of the common road. They have a fancy to draw upon themselves the eyes of the public; and to have the reputation of men of wit; the opinion of the vulgar is too common for them. Persons of a corrupted mind, or they who are full of vanity, imagine it beneath them to think like the multitude; and therefore they endeavour to raise themselves above others, by rejecting the sentiments of the generality of mankind.

Such wretches feed themselves up with these fancies, and hug themselves with the thought of being recovered from the errors of a blind and credulous populace; and supposing they should afterwards be convinced of the truth, they will be far from embracing it, because they will then be obliged to own they were mistaken, and that they, whom they despised, had more penetration than themselves.

Now this is a mortification, their stupid pride can never bear; it would oblige them to depart from those agreeable notions, they had formed of themselves, to descend from the rank and superiority, to which they had imaginarily raised themselves, to renounce all sensual pleasures, and to mortify their passions.

paſſions. Theſe are ſuch obſtacles, as they look upon as unſurmountable; all that can be obtained of them, is to hearken quietly to what objections are made; upon which, after a very ſuperficial examination, they give ſentence deciſively, and condemn without appeal: Judgment once pronounced, it is abſolutely irreverſible.

Much of this kind, was the ſtate of mind and temper of this renegade; having received his birth in *France*, from very honeſt mechanicks of the reformed religion, his education was anſwerable to his extraction: But being endued with quick parts, and of an enterprizing genius, he made ſuch an uncommon progreſs, in the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, that he was looked upon as a ſort of prodigy; in a word, he arrived at that perfection, as was obſerved before, that he had learnt the old and new teſtament, in a manner by heart.

As he was then perfectly well verſed in holy-writ, it is probable he often meditated thereon; and as the precepts of the goſpel were abſolutely repugnant to his licentious deſires, and unbounded ambition, he reſolved to ſtrike out of the road, traced out by all the interpreters, and to take another, which might bring him to his propoſed end. And in order the better to ſupport his *Spinoſiſm*, he thought it neceſſary to gain himſelf a kind of extraordinary reputation; being convinced, that a man of his rank, was by no means in a condition, to aſſume to himſelf any kind of preheminence; or to attract the admiration of the credulous populace, without ſomewhat marvellous and ſurprizing. He concealed therefore, carefully, his exact knowledge of the law of *Moſes*, and the goſpel; and never made a diſplay thereof, but at certain convulſive moments, when he pretended to be inſpired by the *Holy Ghoſt*.

On theſe occaſions, this ſubtle and artful hypocrite would utter ſuch extraordinary notions and expreſſions, that numbers of people were perſuaded he really had revelations, which cauſed theſe admirable fits of learning and erudition; and being as yet too young to be a libertine, he paſſed for a very ſaint. This fanaticiſm having proved highly ſucceſsful to him, he had next the aſſurance, to give out he had an intercourſe with the angels; which extravagance gained alſo credit with ſome weak people.

In eſtabliſhing any new ſyſtems or opinions, it is abſolutely neceſſary to call in the aſſiſtance of ſomewhat marvellous; and there muſt be miracles, true or falſe, to induce folks to receive an ordinary man, as a legiſlator: At that time, the proteſtant religion in *France*, was upon the brink of ruin; it was therefore believed, that this new comforter was ſent by heaven, to re-animate the ſinking, and diſmay'd ſpirits of the zealots of that religion. At this critical juncture, the edict of *Nantz*, was iſſued out; upon which, *Galiot*, now *David Truth*, goes to *Verſailles*; finds the means to get into the king's chapel; boldly accoſts that monarch; and audaciouſly denounces againſt him, as from God, the moſt terrible judgments, unleſs he allowed liberty of conſcience to the *Hugonots* in his dominions.

A raſhneſs of this nature, undoubtedly deſerved the moſt rigorous puniſhment; nevertheleſs, *Lewis* XIV. contented himſelf, with confining him in the *Baſtille*, where he remained five years; and as he rightly judged, he ſhould not get eaſily out of that priſon, he there counterfeited the madman ſo much to the life, that he impoſed upon the moſt clear-ſighted. This Stratagem proved ſucceſsful to him; for the king being informed of this ſuppoſed lunacy

nacy of the priſoner, granted his pardon, and ordered him to be ſet at liberty.

Being releaſed from the *Baſtille*, he made the beſt of his way to *Geneva*, where he ſet up a manufacture of laces; in which buſineſs he was perfectly well ſkilled. In this city he married; and might there have ended his days, if he would have been contented, with the fortune of a perſon of his rank: But this would not do; ſuch a condition ſeemed to him too mean; and he was deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. To this end, he built on the top of a little hill, in the neighbourhood of the City, a kind of hermitage, whither he often went, as he impudently affirmed, to converſe with the angels.

The reſult of this correſpondence, with theſe celeſtial and bleſſed ſpirits, was to publiſh prophecies; and prophecies, which were by no means favourable to the heads of the government of this little republic. Thoſe perſons, who were endued with good ſenſe, were far from regarding ſuch extravagant notions, or being impoſed on by ſuch groſs artifices; eſpecially, as his behaviour was not at all conformable to that ſingular character which he had aſſumed. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of licentiouſneſs, he formed there a conſiderable party; the ſtupid populace ſtill following him as a prophet: In ſhort, his extravagances, with his reſtleſs and turbulent temper, began to make them apprehenſive of a ſedition, for which reaſon, he was baniſhed *Geneva*.

Being driven from thence, he went on to *Liſle* in *Flanders*; where he contracted an acquaintance and friendſhip, with a haberdaſher of hats and *Calviniſt*, named *Turpin*, who was both a rich and generous man. *Galiot* inſpired him with the thought of eſtabliſhing there a manufactury of laces;

laces; which ſcheme proving agreeable to *Turpin*, he advanced him conſiderable ſums, in order to put this deſign in execution.

As ſoon as our adventurer found himſelf ſtrong in ready caſh, he went off from *Liſle*, one fine morning, with his family, conſiſting of two ſons and as many daughters; carrying away of the poor haberdaſher's, about twenty thouſand livres: He then took refuge in *Holland*, where he underwent circumciſion, preferring the *Jewiſh* law to that of the goſpel: He even proceeded ſo far, as to perform the operation himſelf upon his two ſons.

So infamous an action, drew upon him the hatred of the whole country; rightly judging, therefore, that he ſhould find it hard to ſubſiſt there, he determined to go from thence to *Turkey*, with his two daughters and one of his ſons, the other having refuſed to follow him. Being arrived at *Smyrna*, his money began to fail him; his two daughters, however, being tolerably handſome, this was a new fund for him; nor did he at all ſcruple to make uſe of it: The cries of poverty and neceſſity were louder than thoſe of blood and of fatherly affection.

He ſold, then, the eldeſt of his daughters to a *Turk*, for the ſum of four hundred piaſtres; which done, he left *Smyrna*, and went on to *Conſtantinople*. Being fully inſtructed in the cuſtoms of the *Mahometans*, he knew perfectly well it was forbidden to enter their moſques, on pain of death, and eſpecially in the time of prayers; as alſo, that there was no other way to ſave his life, but by turning *Muſſulman*. Now he wanted to be forced to embrace the *Turkiſh* religion, in order to impoſe upon the *Franks*, and perſuade them he had not done it of his own accord: This artifice, as he imagined, would

would ſecure him from the juſt reproaches, with which he ſhould otherwiſe be overwhelmed.

Having thus concerted this hopeful deſign, he not only entered into *Solimania*, one of the imperial moſques, but alſo began to preach, and to interrupt the *Iman*: So notorious an extravagance, coſt him a good drubbing; after which he was ſeized upon, and in a word, condemned either to die, or to become a *Mahometan*. It may be eaſily judged, he was not long in making his choice; his ſcheme had been laid for ſome years; and he was determined to puſh his fortune at any price; wherein he at laſt ſucceeded, even beyond his utmoſt hopes.

Scarce had he preferred the *Alcoran* to death, before ſome *aſpres* were aſſigned him, for his own ſubſiſtence, and that of the two children he had left; and theſe young ones, who were indeed his ſecond ſelf, had too thoroughly imbibed his principles, to be refractory to his will, and not follow his ſteps. By degrees, he gained admittance amongſt the chief officers of the *Porte*, who aſſiſted him in eſtabliſhing his manufacture of laces.

Having afterwards taken notice, that fires made cruel havock at *Conſtantinople*; the houſes being only of wood, and painted all over, ſo that they are very combuſtible, and it is reckoned nothing, when only five or ſix hundred houſes are deſtroyed; having taken notice of this, we ſay, *Galliot* formed thereupon a ſcheme, how to raiſe his fortune. Accordingly, he ſent privately for two engines from *Holland*; and, finding theſe machines were abſolutely unknown to the *Turks*, demanded leave of the *Divan* to play them at the firſt fire. The good *Mahometans*, ſurprized at their effect and uſefulneſs, deſired to have a great number of them; and *Galiot*, who had aſſerted he was the inventor, had

had orders to make fifty; in ſhort, his ingenuity was admired by all the people of that vaſt city; and he was rewarded with a penſion, of a thouſand *aſpres* a day, and a conſiderable poſt created on purpoſe for him.

He was made an *Aga*, and had the command of five hundred *Janizaries* aſſigned him, who where expreſsly appointed to extinguiſh fires. This brought him in alſo two thouſand aſpres a day; ſo that his ſalary, together with the profits of his manufacture, which in a ſmall time, became conſiderable, have raiſed him to immenſe riches; and he never went out, without a train of twenty or five and twenty ſlaves.

Beſides this, he ſtill went on, in counterfeiting the zealot, and the prophet; and this with ſuch a well-diſſembled ſanctity, and ſuch ſeeming devotion, that all the *Turks* in general, from the meaneſt mechanic, to the greateſt officers of the *Sultan*, reſpect him infinitely, and ſhew him abundance of honour: And the *Mufti* himſelf, has even given him the key of a gallery, in the moſque named *Solimania*, to ſay his prayers there, and hold his conferences, as he pretends, with the white angels; a favour he never grants, but to the four chief officers of the *Sublime Porte*.

His ſon and his daughter, tread exactly in his ſteps, and imitate his hypocriſy to perfection; and as he knows the conſtitution of theſe his dear children, that they altogether reſemble him, that is, that they are extremely prone to ſenſual enjoyments, he has a number of very beautiful females, both ſlaves and concubines, to be ſubſervient both to his own pleaſures, and to his ſon's. As to his daughter, he marries her almoſt every month to ſome renegade, with whom he afterwards picks a groundleſs quarrel; and, as his own reputation is well eſtabliſhed, he takes advantage thereof to ruin them.

His

His word is believed to their prejudice, ſo that he gets them thrown into priſon, and frequently condemned to the galleys, according to the crimes whereof he accuſes them: I have myſelf delivered three of theſe his unfortunate ſons in law. This frequent changing of huſbands, is highly agreeable to that licentious creature; with whom her father is obliged to keep very fair, and accordingly he does ſo, with great complaiſance. Such, or almoſt ſuch, is the character of *David Truth*, known in *Europe* by the name of *Galiot*. He never wears any cloaths but what are white; which, as he ſays, is in token of his purity, and that he may appear acceptable in the eyes of the white angels, who communicate to him his revelations. It cannot, indeed, be denied, that this man is endued with a fine underſtanding, as the reader may judge by his diſcourſe with me, and his manner of ſoothing my ſorrows, and alleviating my grief.

It is impoſſible, ſaid this man often to me, to find any condition, or invent any ſyſtem, which can ſecure us from all afflictions; but then our pains, makes us reliſh our pleaſures more agreeably: Some good, ſome evil, ſuch is the life of man. But this contraſt rouzes us and frees the mind from that lethargic ſtate, into which it would fall, were it always to remain in the ſame ſituation. One ought always, therefore, to hope; fortune is ſo extravagant, there is nothing but what may be expected from her caprices.

Let us be never ſo perfect, we have frequently need of counſel: Leave one door always open for friendſhip, ſays a modern philoſopher, it is from thence you will find relief. A friend, who can freely tell us his thoughts, without offending us, is a great eaſe to the mind; but then we muſt not indiſcreetly contract this intimacy with many; it would

would only confound and perplex us, without being of any manner of ſervice.

Nothing ſeems to me ſo imprudent and ridiculous, as thoſe people who accuſtom themſelves to publiſh their own misfortunes, and are complaining continually to every one; they think thereby to move their compaſſion, and gain their good-will; but they are widely miſtaken. Complaints only ruin our credit, and affect very few; whilſt they delight ſome, and draw upon us the contempt of others: On the other hand, to conceal our ſorrows is courage, and fortitude of mind. Theſe reflections, *Baſſa Bonneval*, do not at all relate to you, it was by no means my intention to addreſs my diſcourſe to you; beſides, you have undoubtedly no reaſon to complain, fortune ſmiles upon you, and regards you with a very favourable eye.

Tell me not of the vexations, occaſioned you by your lady, for they are altogether imaginary; and if you allow yourſelf to conſider ever ſo little, you will agree with me. I have but two things to lay before you, in order to make you eaſy upon this head. Was it either your fortune, or your youth, that induced *Julia Salviati* to give you her hand, and inclined her to ſacrifice her reputation, her bloom, and the ſplendid condition to which her birth, riches, charms and merit, muſt otherwiſe have then advanced her? You cannot help readily acknowledging it was not; it could then only be the eſteem ſhe had conceived for you: Now when love is once grounded upon eſteem, it very ſeldom abates; and abſence rather ſtrengthens than extinguiſhes it.

Beſides, you have owned to me, that *Barnetti* ſeemed to you, of a very bad diſpoſition; let us then only ſuppoſe, that this wretch has fallen deſperately in love with your ſpouſe; and that ſhe,

far

far from making any return to his paſſion, has treated him with the ſcorn he deſerved; his fury and deſpair, (for you know the temper of the *Italians*) together with his wicked inclinations, may not they be ſufficient to inſtigate him to a cruel revenge? And what more ſevere vengeance could he take, than by rendering her abhorr'd by a beloved huſband, by accuſing her of ſuch infamous actions, whereof any woman, who has ever ſo little remains of honour, could not be capable? In ſhort, the aſperſions are too groſs to be true. Be aſſured then, it was the too ſcrupulous virtue, and the inviolable fidelity, and unalterable love of your lady for you, which conſtitutes all her guilt: Reflect maturely upon theſe circumſtances, and you will confeſs you are to blame; nay, and very highly to blame, to give yourſelf ſo much up to your ſorrow; ſince thoſe accuſations are only horrible and villanous calumnies.

Thus did this renegade endeavour to comfort me, and diſpel my grief; and I muſt own he ſucceeded, at leaſt for a time: But the long journey I was obliged to undertake, ſome months afterwards, brought my melancholy again upon me. Already had I lived at *Conſtantinople*, in this manner, for almoſt two years, when two unforeſeen events, conſtrained me to abandon my charming retreat, and go into *Arabia*, to appeaſe ſome troubles, that had ariſen within a little while in my government.

The *Porte* being informed that one of the principal *Checks* of the *Arabs*, having revolted, had ſurprized and maſſacred a caravan of eight hundred *Turks*, who were going on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, reſolved to exterminate the party of this captain of Robbers, which began to grow too powerful, to be ſuffered to exerciſe their rapine with impunity. Already above fifteen thouſand

Banditti,

Banditti, of all nations, had inlifted under his banners; and it became the more dangerous to neglect reducing him, becauſe, beſides the enormous cruelties whereof he was guilty, he not only made incurſions into *Egypt*, but the *Baſſa* of *Damaſcus* being diſſatisfied with the *Porte*, ſeemed inclined to join him with his forces, in order to raiſe a formidable inſurrection, and make himſelf maſter of *Syria*.

This news, then, obliged the *Sultan* to ſummons a general *Divan*, where it was unanimouſly reſolved, to diſpatch me into that country; to oppoſe the inroads, and prevent the bad deſigns, whereof that governour of *Syria* was ſuſpected. His highneſs, who was deſirous of detaining me yet ſome time longer at court, in vain ſtrove to excuſe me from being charged with this expedition; the party of the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, eaſily got the better of his, becauſe the *Kaimakan* favoured them: He wanted me to be gone from *Conſtantinople*; his ſincere friendſhip for me, keeping him in continual alarms; he was apprehenſive, that ſome fatal accident would befal me. I was appointed therefore, to command a body of twenty thouſand men, which had been raiſed in *Egypt*; and were to join me in the neighbourhood of the *Iſthmus* of *Sues*.

Theſe misfortunes, which ſeemed to threaten *Syria*, grievous as they were, cauſed abundance of joy in my enemies; they being perſuaded it was a certain means, to remove me from court for a conſiderable time: It may eaſily be judged then, that they eagerly laid hold on this opportunity. And as the ſtratagems of the great men of the *Porte*, are very different from thoſe practiſed in other courts, where they endeavour to ruin an enemy by ſlandering him, they began their revenge only by flattering, and even extravagant commendations; inſomuch, that

that they overwhelmed me with encomiums, and extolled my courage and bravery, above that of any of the heroes of antiquity.

No, there is not one amongſt us, ſaid the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, who dares boaſt he comes near the illuſtrious *Baſſa Bonneval* in valour. He has ſignalized himſelf by ſuch diſtinguiſhing military exploits, that no one, without injuſtice, can diſpute with him this important commiſſion. Already I foreſee the new laurels, which will ſoon raiſe his glory to the higheſt pitch; and I am certain, the *Ottoman* empire, will triumph over all its enemies, aſſoon as his prudent counſels are followed, and he commands our armies: In a word, he expatiated upon my merit, with ſo much exaggeration, that I could not help perceiving, he was incited thereto by an implacable hatred and envy; but this was the laſt ill-office he did me. He loſt his life, in endeavouring to dethrone *Achmet*; however he cauſed abundance of bloodſhed, before he fell a ſacrifice to the too juſt reſentment of this *Sultan*, when he had once again ſupplanted his brother *Soliman*.

My departure was then reſolved on, and the time fixed to be within two months, in order to allow ſome leiſure, for preparing ten troops of *Spahis*, who were aſſigned me for my convoy, and were to have the care of my perſon. The *Sultan*, out of his great regard for me, commanded abſolutely, that theſe *Spahis* ſhould mount the guard, night and day, around my tent; and, as the *Kaimakan* was perfectly acquainted with all the different bodies of cavalry, he managed ſo, that theſe ten troops, were compoſed only of ſtout, robuſt, and brave men, whoſe fidelity I might ſafely rely on.

It became neceſſary then to think about ſettling my affairs; and already was I preparing to give liberty

to moſt of my domeſticks or ſlaves, not caring to keep any, but ſuch as were in a condition to go along with me, and with whom I was perfectly well ſatisfied. I had only appointed two to look after my houſe, in caſe heaven ſhould favour me ſo far, as to allow me to return from my government, but the plague diſpoſed of them otherwiſe.

This year, that dreadful ſcourge had made much greater havock, during the winter, than it generally does in that ſeaſon; when the heat is by no means ſo exceſſive, as in ſpring, or ſummer. It withdraws uſually at that time, into ſome corner of *Conſtantinople*, and does not carry off many; but this year, it laid waſte almoſt the whole city, at the ſame inſtant. In the beginning of the ſpring it extended itſelf to the adjacent parts, with incredible rapidity and fury; inſomuch that it reached my houſe, when I leaſt expected it. It ſeized at firſt, upon the ſteward of my houſhold; who, being afraid he ſhould be removed to the peſt houſe, underwent the moſt cruel torments, without daring to complain. Nevertheleſs, he was obliged to ſink under it, and I heard he was in his laſt agonies, before I knew any thing of his illneſs; and a moment after was informed of his death.

A capuchin, who had viſited him, in order to take care of his conſcience, aſſured me he had three very venomous bubo's; at which news, all the reſt were terribly frightned: And, as fear is in a manner a certain ſymptom of this dreadful diſtemper, twenty others, both men and women, were ſeized therewith, and died; inſomuch, that the plague cleared my houſe, within the ſpace of ten days. From my ſervants it proceeded to my horſes, all of which I loſt, except two; in ſhort, only my two *Swiſs*, and myſelf, were wholly exempted from its attacks.

In the mean while, I was juſt upon the point of my departure; already all my inſtructions were made out, and I was to have received them at the *Divan*, which was ſummon'd to meet for that end, in two days. I would have repreſented, that the plague having carried off all my domeſticks, and horſes, it required neceſſarily ſome reſpite, to furniſh myſelf with a new equipage; but anſwer was made that misfortune was already provided againſt; and that I ſhould receive, that very day, convincing proofs of the ſincere value, and perfect eſteem they had for me.

In effect, all the chief officers of the *Porte*, concurred in ſupplying me again with ſlaves and horſes; and the greateſt of my enemies, I mean the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, appeared the moſt liberal. He ſent me ſix fine horſes, richly capariſoned, with as many ſlaves; and others recruited me in proportion; ſo that, the day before my departure, I found myſelf poſſeſſed of threeſcore fine ſteeds, with an equal number of ſlaves, all fit to undertake a long and dangerous expedition.

The *Sultan* alſo preſented me with eight, which were to be delivered me at *Burſa*; this he informed me of, when I waited on him to take my leave. You will find at *Burſa*, ſaid this gracious emperor, eight courſers, that were choſen out of my own ſtables, with as many *German* ſlaves, in whom you may repoſe an entire confidence: Make them your moſt truſty domeſticks, you will have no cauſe to repent it. This ſaid, he honoured me with the moſt endearing careſſes, and aſſured me, I ſhould not continue long upon this expedition.

They, who are poſſeſſed with the falſe notion, that the *Turkiſh* emperors are unapproachable, inhuman, ſavage and cruel, will accuſe me of impoſing on them; but, if they reflect on the deſcription

I have given of *Achmet*, they will do me more juſtice, and believe that count *Bonneval*, though blacken'd with the moſt horrid calumnies, has too much honour, to boaſt himſelf groundleſly, and without probability, of chimerical favours, and of the good will of this moſt gracious and beneficent *Sultan*.

The ſecond occurrence that happen'd before my departure, and which made me in ſome meaſure deſire it, was a letter from the *Venetian*, *Barnetti*; wherein he informed me, that my wife was gone from his houſe, and that he was entirely a ſtranger whither ſhe was fled; but he ſaid not a word, at this time, to her prejudice; neither did he mention any thing about her miſbehaviour; which induced me partly to ſuſpect the truth. Reflecting, however, on the unhappy condition into which this unfortunate woman might fall, I cou'd not refuſe tears to her memory; but, being greatly taken up, by the preparations for my expedition, it diſpell'd my melancholy, which did not return upon me, till after my having quitted *Conſtantinople*; when the remembrance of this my lovely ſpouſe engroſſed all my thoughts.

Every thing being at laſt in readineſs, I ſent for the *French* renegade, in order to depoſit in his hands an inventory of all the effects I left behind at my houſe; deſiring him to diſpoſe thereof as of his own till my return; nor had I any reaſon to repent my confidence in him. Before I took horſe, I was deſirous once more to embrace the *Kaimakan*, the moſt affectionate of my friends. It was at this viſit I experienced what effects a ſincere friendſhip can produce in our hearts. Ah! how greatly does one ſuffer, when on the point of parting with thoſe we moſt eſteem, and whom we have moſt reaſon to value. I alſo found during this abſence, which was for three years, that the loſs of a faithful and

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ſincere friends leave a great void in our ſouls, which we cannot fill up, whatever we ſubſtitute in its room.

This honeſt man obſerving that my ſenſible concern, at being forced to be ſeparated from him, was painted to the life in my eyes, could not help being likewiſe affected therewith above meaſure, and without being able to contain himſelf; at laſt, however, we were obliged to leave each other, and to part I ſent alſo to the *French* religious, a pretty conſiderable ſum, to induce them to offer up prayers to heaven, in my favour; ſuch was my conduct at *Conſtantinople* for the two firſt years.

Before my proceeding any farther, it will not, I believe, be improper, to give people a right notion of this great city; I have promiſed it, and every honeſt man ought to keep his word. It ſhall not be a deſcription of it, numbers of authors have already exhauſted themſelves upon this ſubject; I ſhall therefore only dwell upon ſuch points, as ſeem to me not to have been well particularized, or have not as yet been ſufficiently cleared up.

On taking a view of *Conſtantinople*, and the *Boſphorus of Thrace*, one would almoſt be tempted to ſay, that nature had exhauſted all her ſtores, to enrich not only the *peninſula*, whereon this city is ſituated, but alſo all the parts adjacent. An air extremely pure and temperate; with a ſky almoſt always cloudleſs and ſerene; where enchanting landſcapes, diverſified with a thouſand various colours, afford you at the ſame time, and in one and the ſame place, the beauties of the ſpring, and the bleſſings of autumn, both by the agreeable aſſemblage of divers objects, from which one can hardly take off one's eyes, and by the plentiful ſupplies of fruits and flowers, which are to be found there in all ſeaſons.

It may perhaps ſurprize many, when I affirm, that the air at *Conſtantinople* is pure and temperate, ſince a contagious diſtemper prevails always there without interruption, and the latitude, wherein it is ſituated, proves, that the heats there are ſultry and ſcorching.

But their aſtoniſhment will ceaſe, when they begin to conſider, that the plague reigns there, only through their neglect of taking proper precautions; and it is certain it would never gain admittance there, were the *Turks* but more prudent, and more circumſpect, in guarding againſt this dreadful ſcourge; which carries off every year, almoſt a hundred thouſand ſouls: That abſolute predeſtination, which is held by the *Mahometans*, makes them look upon the peſtilence, as a kind of deſtiny, appointed by providence, to terminate their lives.

Again, the infected merchandize, which comes from *Perſia*, the Iſle of *Ormus*, and other countries, never perform any quarantain; and by the means of theſe goods, the plague gets entrance into their magazines and houſes: Beſides this, their continual intercourſe with thoſe who are afflicted with that diſtemper, the cloaths, and furs which they wear, without any manner of care, as ſoon as their relations or friends are carried off by this diſeaſe; all theſe contribute to keep this infection amongſt them, and to make it circulate from family to family. During winter, though it is hardly felt in this happy climate, it generally withdraws into ſome corner; but, as ſoon as the heats return, it ſpreads throughout every part, with ſo much fury, that it deſtroys ſix thouſand ſouls in a day.

Add to this, the dead bodies are carried openly through the Streets, unto the burying places, which are upon the top of the hills of *Pera*: Every one is expoſed to the danger of meeting them; they

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are carried a-croſs the harbour, in the ſame boats that ſerve the living; and one paſſes to *Conſtantinople* or *Galata*, in one of them, which has perhaps carried four or five hundred infected carcaſes, inſomuch, that it is ſcarce poſſible to avoid this diſtemper.

To conclude, the *Turks* waſh their dead before they bury them; and theſe bodies, which rot within four or five hours, are enough to infect all who aſſiſt at the funerals. To this let us join, that the prodigious numbers of theſe corpſes, prevent their making graves of a ſufficient depth; inſomuch that abundance are hardly covered with a foot of earth, which renders the air in the neighbourhood of theſe burying places, ſo contagious, that it affects all, who will run the hazard of breathing in it.

It is not therefore the air of the climate, that contributes to the plague, but the want of care in the people; and one proof of its being very pure, is, that no venomous inſects are to be found there; even the ſting of a ſcorpion, is not attended there with any dangerous conſequences: And another very convincing proof hereof is, that they who are not attack'd with, or recover from this diſtemper, live to an extreem old age, without being ſenſible of thoſe many ailments, that uſually attend the ancient elſewhere.

I have alſo affirmed, in the ſecond place, that the air is very temperate at *Conſtantinople*; and, in effect, an intenſe cold, or too ſultry heats are never felt, to an exceſſive degree, in that city; becauſe the *North* wind, which continually blows there, from four in the afternoon, till eight in the morning qualifies the air in ſuch a manner, that even in the moſt ſcorching heats of the dog-days, one would imagine one were in the months of *February* or *March*. It is a very ſingular circumſtance, that

only two winds ever reign at *Conſtantinople*, namely the *North* and the *South* and theſe two ſucceed to each other ſo regularly, that they never fail to repel each other alternatively, at the appointed hours; the *South* beginning to blow at eight in the morning, and continuing till four in the afternoon, and the *North* ſucceeding then, and laſting till eight in the morning.

'Tis true, from about ten in the morning, till five in the evening, the ſun-beams are ſomewhat piercing, and ſtrike upon one with great fierceneſs; which induces the mechanicks and other tradeſmen, to leave off their buſineſs, during thoſe hours: But they eaſily indemnify themſelves, for this loſs of time, as ſoon as the *North* wind begins to blow. Theſe two particulars, upon which I have often reflected, ſeem'd to me worth being related; though divers authors have paſſed them over, as trifles not meriting their attention: For my part, I think them ſufficiently remarkable, not to be altogether contemn'd. Nay, I even hope, that the *Turks*, being convinced of the juſtneſs of my reflections, concerning the plague, will, at ſome time or other, rid this capital from it, by acting conformably to the memoirs I delivered them upon this head.

Theſe memoirs conſiſted only of ſome artleſs reaſonings, that were written merely to baniſh from their minds, that ridiculous attachment to abſolute predeſtination, which induces them not only not to fear any danger, but even to expoſe themſelves to it: This they do, through a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion, that heaven has ſo numbered their days, that neither any accident, nor viſitation, can interrupt their courſe, nor ſhorten them a moment. Already, notwithſtanding my ſmall knowledge in divinity, and my ſlender learning, many of the principal officers are recovered from this prepoſterous prejudice; and

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are aſtoniſhed they could ſo long be bigotted to a ſyſtem ſo contradictory to the principle, the divine being has implanted in all his creatures, to incite them to watch over the preſervation of their own lives.

Should they once come to renounce and lay aſide theſe abſurd maxims, there is reaſon to believe, they will follow the example of the *Chriſtians*, who oblige both all ſuſpected perſons, and goods to perform quarantain; in which caſe, the plague would ſoon be expelled *Conſtantinople:* And, ſhould this dreadful ſcourge be once rooted out from this delightful abode, where every thing neceſſary, uſeful, convenient or agreeable is to be found in abundance, and dog-cheap; this country would then be as inchanting, as the *Elyſian-Fields*, ſo much extoll'd by the poets; with this advantage, that *Conſtantinople* is no imaginary clime, like that of thoſe pagan writers.

The apprehenſions one muſt continually be under of the plague, takes off infinitely from the pleaſures one ſhould otherwiſe enjoy, in this fortunate region; where the greateſt ſenſualiſt, may ſatisfy all his deſires at a very ſmall charge: For I am well aſſured, one might fare better there for tenpence, than in *Holland* for a ducat. There one may find exquiſite wines, with all ſorts of game and fiſh, beſides poultry, in ſuch great plenty, that you may have either a fine fowl or pullet, for a ſingle penny.

Beſides this, their mutton, beef and veal is delicious; ſo that a poor mechanic may eaſily live upon ſix aſpres a day, which makes about ſix *French* farthings. I can truly ſay, without boaſting, that my table was furniſhed very elegantly, both with fleſh and fiſh, neither did I deny any thing to my ſlaves; nevertheleſs, the whole expence of my houſe-

houſe-keeping, not excepting my horſes, did not amount to twenty chequins a month: From this ſingle article, one may judge the fertility, and goodneſs of this ſoil.

There are few who don't know, that the city of *Conſtantinople*, named *Stambol* by the *Turks*, is built upon a *peninſula*, which extends a conſiderable way into the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*; that it is waſh'd on the *South*, by the waters of the *Propontis*, or *Helleſpont*; and ſepa ated from the riſing grounds of *Thrace*, by the waves of the *Boſphorus*, which are driven back by two ſmall rivers, that ſeem again to divide the *peninſula* from the main land, for about four leagues. It forms a creſcent, on the ſide of the *Helleſpont*, and a conſiderable creek, or ſmall bay on the other, which is oppoſite thereto. This bay is the fineſt harbour in the world, and the more admirable as it is formed by nature. The veſſels come cloſe up to the keys, as they do in the canals in *Holland*; and the point of the *peninſula*, where the *Seraglio* is built, ſhelters them entirely.

Repreſent then to yourſelf the city of *Conſtantinople*, ſituated upon a neck of land, that is waſhed on three ſides, by the waters of the *Boſphorus*, and the *Propontis*, and which partly reſembles the ſharp ridge of a houſe, ſomewhat flat at the top: The whole about two leagues and a half long, and three quarters broad, and extending into the canal in windings, and forming three eaſy aſcents, to which the houſes that ſtand thereon give the air of ſo many amphitheatres. Two of theſe are terminated by the ſeven imperial moſques, built in a diametral line upon the ſummit of them, ſo that they command the whole city. The other is bounded by the various parts of the *Seraglio*, which form, as it were, a ſmall city of themſelves, divided from *Conſtantinople*, by a double and high wall.

This

This great city therefore, cannot be fully view'd at one time, or from one place, though one were even to get upon the dome of the *Solimania*, which is the moſt lofty of all the moſques; becauſe the upper houſes ſeem, in a manner, to ſwallow up thoſe that are below; and the irregularity of the buildings, abſolutely prevents the ſight's extending to the lower parts of the city. Theſe three aſcents form three different proſpects; the firſt whereof, and the fineſt, is when one takes a view of it from *Pera*. One muſt be in *Aſia*, near the antient *Chalcedon*, to behold the ſecond; and in the middle of the *Boſphorus*, a little above *Topbana*, a village almoſt adjoining to *Galata*, and ſo named from a foundery of cannon there eſtabliſhed, to ſurvey the third.

At *Pera*, we diſcover all that part of the city, which deſcends towards the harbour, or towards the bay, formed by the main land and *peninſula*; and one may ſafely ſay this is the moſt charming proſpect, that is to be found perhaps in the world. Not only we behold all the principal moſques, and all the houſes, that extend from the bottom of the bay to the point of the *Seraglio*, without diſcerning any part of that palace, but alſo the *Helleſpont*, *Chalcedon*, the charming town of *Scutari*, and the iſland of *Princes*; ſo that, if we caſt our eyes beyond *Conſtantinople*, our ſight is bounded by nothing but its own weakneſs. But one cannot have a view of the harbour, becauſe the point of the *Seraglio*, and its buildings, ſeem to join thoſe of *Galata*; and theſe edifices, ſtanding one above another, interrupt the ſight of the port; ſo that one can only diſcover the maſts of the ſhips.

Then, on turning our eyes towards the *Boſphorus*, we find nothing but inchanting objects; only they are bounded by the little hills that incloſe the canal from *Conſtantinople* to the *Black Sea*. We muſt therefore content ourſelves with taking a view of theſe

theſe charming coaſts, for about half a league; where our ſight is again ſtopt by the windings of the *Boſphorus*; when the hills of *Europe* and *Aſia* ſeem to join, and prevent the ſight's extending any farther.

From *Chalcedon* one beholds that other part of the city, that reaches from the caſtle of the *Seven Towers* to the point of the *Seraglio*; but this ſecond proſpect, though very fine, is not comparable to the firſt: 'Tis true, the gardens of the *Seraglio*, part of which we diſcover, make us a little amends for the ſight being bounded, both by the buildings of the city, and of that palace; which abſolutely conceal the harbour, and even all *Galata*. 'Tis true alſo, this fine creſcent, watered by the ſea, whoſe buildings form a ſecond amph theatre, ſtrike one with admiration; nevertheleſs, one ſees only the upper edifices, the lower eſcape one's ſight.

To conclude, from the *Boſphorus* we diſcover all the level buildings of the *Seraglio*, which ſeem confuſed and ill contrived, together with the entrance into the harbour; but the eyes are forced to ſtop there, and can go no farther, we muſt turn them towards *Aſia* and *Europe*. On the *Aſian* ſide, magnificent gardens one above another, afford us an agreeable entertainment: But in *Europe*, the buildings oblige you to bound your ſight there.

I have only entered upon theſe particulars, to ſhow how much the author of the memoirs, falſely aſcribed to me, is miſtaken, when he ſays the principal proſpects from the old caſtle, (wherein he makes me reſide, though it has been fallen to ruin ever ſince 1718,) were upon the ſea; upon large fertile fields, (which the multitude of fruit-trees, would induce one to miſtake for a garden) upon *Conſtantinople*; and upon the harbour: Since from *Chalcedon*, where I ſuppoſe he places my abode, one can ſee no farther of the ſea, than to the tower of *Leander*.

Leander's

Leander's Tower is a rock, almoſt over againſt the point of the *Seraglio*, whereon a ſmall fortreſs is built; and, though it is ſurrounded on all ſides by the briny waves of the *Boſphorus*, there is a ſpring therein of freſh water, which is the only one to be found at *Conſtantinople*, a particular that has eſcaped many travellers, who have deſcribed this lovely country.

To return from whence I have digreſs'd, the point of the *Seraglio* and its buildings, abſolutely intercept the view of the harbour, and even of its mouth: And, in ſhort, I could never obſerve any large plains, in the place where the ancient *Chalcedon* was ſituated; there are only ſome gardens, moſt of them on a deſcent, becauſe all the parts adjacent to the canal and the *Helleſpont*, are border'd with little hills, at leaſt for ſix leagues beyond *Conſtantinople*, on the *Aſian* ſide; but, on the *European*, almoſt the whole country is one uninterrupted intermixture of mountains and valleys, though indeed very fruitful.

When we are at *Conſtantinople*, near the harbour, we ſee again another admirable amphitheatre; which is formed by *Galata*, *Pera*, *Topbana*, and in general by a prodigious number of houſes, and fine edifices, that extend from the bottom of the harbour, to over againſt the town of *Scutari*, near four leagues in length. Theſe are all thoſe lovely places, that are called the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*; ſo that including them with the city, they are about fifteen leagues in circumference; but *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, is at moſt but twenty *Italian* miles.

The fine idea we form of *Conſtantinople*, when we firſt have a ſight of it, is infinitely leſſen'd when we walk through it. The ſtreets are narrow, the houſes wretchedly built, and without any regularity; one muſt continually go up ſtairs and down: Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs, it can't be denied, that the ſtreet of *Adrianople* is very beautiful, both on account of its length and breadth, and becauſe of the fine houſes that adorn it in ſome places. All then, wherein the beauty of *Conſtantinople* conſiſts, is in its delightful ſituation, and the admirable proſpects one there meets with: For, excepting the imperial moſques, the reſt of the city is only a confuſed heap of houſes, without either order or architecture. It muſt be owned however, that theſe moſques are admirable ſtructures; both for their largeneſs, and for the magnificent materials whereof they are built, as well as for the portico's adjoining to them.

The *Turks* were never eminent for architecture; but they had an excellent pattern in the church of *St. Sophia*, which they have endeavoured to imitate; and, though they have not come up to that perfection, we may venture to ſay, that the variety of fine marbles, and other uncommon ſtones, taken from the ruins of the antique *Grecian* monuments, which they have joined together, form ſuch an odd aſſemblage of all the orders of architecture, that this variety pleaſes almoſt as much, as the magnificence and riches of theſe edifices.

The minarets, or towers, with which they are flank'd, and which are raiſed to a prodigious height, in the form of pyramids or arrows, give them a certain ſurprizing air, which at firſt aſtoniſhes the mind, and then amuſes it agreeably: In ſome moſques one finds to the number of ſix of theſe. It is from theſe minarets, they, who are appointed for that purpoſe, call the people to prayers; wherein they are inconceivably punctual.

Though the *peninſula*, whereon *Conſtantinople* ſtands, has neither any freſh ſprings nor fountains, they have nevertheleſs, water in great plenty.

plenty. It is brought thither by ſix aqueducts, which are the works of the antient *Romans*; and, as I have already obſerved, that all the country, around *Conſtantinople*, is but a heap of little hills, it was neceſſary to dig through and arch above five hundred, in order to anſwer the aqueducts, which ſerve in a manner to unite theſe hills. Amongſt all theſe aqueducts, three are particularly diſtinguiſhed, which create the admiration of good judges, both for their loftineſs and for their architecture; but too many deſcriptions have already been given of them, for me to enter into a detail of them, which would not only ſeem tedious, but of no uſe. *Galata*, which is on the other ſide of the harbour, is a pretty large city, as ill built as *Conſtantinople*, and the ſtreets almoſt alike: There is but one that is tolerable; and that is ſo ſteep, and has ſo many windings, that it can by no means be called handſome. *Pera*, which is its ſuburb, is on the ſummit of the hill, and conſiſts only of one ſingle ſtreet, ſadly paved, and over-run with filth. I believe they who are acquainted with theſe parts, will eaſily judge, whether I, or the author of the memoirs, have given the juſteſt account thereof.

In the city of *Conſtantinople* and its ſuburbs, there are reckon'd to be about two millions of ſouls; which is ſufficient to ſhew it is one of the largeſt cities in *Europe*: Nevertheleſs, for all this prodigious number of inhabitants, not one beggar is to be found there, except the *Santons*, who only live upon alms, through a falſe principle of virtue, and to make a ſhew of an extraordinary piety; notwithſtanding which they are not a jot the more eſteemed. In effect, we may ſay in general, that theſe ſort of hermits ought to be looked upon, as the refuſe of the *Mahometans*; and, in a word, their lives are as frightful as their figure; and they have more the air of *Bacchanals* than of reaſonable creatures.

All

All the *Turks*, without exception, are extreamly charitable; they relieve indifferently all the wretched, without having any regard, either to their religion, or their paſt miſconduct; becauſe, as they alledge, a profligate may alter his courſe of life, and become a perfectly honeſt man. Their charity therefore obſerves no reſpect of perſons; but it muſt alſo be owned, that they carry this religious principle ſomewhat too far. They extend it not only to all rational creatures, but even to beaſts, and inanimate beings.

All the poor, who have need of relief, find it ſufficiently, every Friday, at the moſques, where bread, rice and money is diſtributed; as alſo at the private houſes where they apply for it, and at coffee-houſes, founded for that purpoſe, where they may have coffee and tobacco, as much as they want. In every city there are places ſet apart for ſtrange merchants; where every one is admitted, and each may have a chamber to retire to, with clean ſtraw to lie upon, which great care is taken to ſhift every Day.

The *Turks* likewiſe endow places, for the reception of dogs and cats, and other creatures that are caſt off. The butchers are ordered to feed every day a certain number. Several private perſons build *Caravanſera*'s upon the roads, to lodge travellers, and their horſes; with conduits for freſh water, where there is always a little porringer, faſtened to a chain, for thoſe who are deſirous to drink.

In ſhort, we find ſome ſo weak, to pay a labourer, that he may take care every day, to water barren trees, leſt their dryneſs ſhould cauſe them to wither and die. This is indeed a very miſtaken kind of charity; nevertheleſs, it ſufficiently proves, that the *Mahometans* are very far from being ſavage, cruel, and inhuman.

In

In effect, if we conſider their manners without prejudice, it will be agreed, that all the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, which compoſe an aſſemblage of the univerſe in miniature, are in this reſpect, as much ſuperior to other nations, as the light of the ſun ſurpaſſes that of the moon. Beſides, this regular life is enforced by a wiſe and ſtrict civil government; the beſt regulated cities in *Chriſtendom* cannot boaſt of exceeding the *Turks* in this article.

Fraud is there puniſh'd with ſo much rigour, that it is very rare any one ventures to over-reach another, either in merchandize of value, or in the moſt trifling commodity. Should a *Turk* have the impudence to diminiſh either the weight or meaſure of any thing, not only all he had would be confiſcated, but he would alſo be condemn'd to a ſevere baſtinado.

Injuſtice, uſury, monopolies, and theft, are crimes, in a manner, unknown amongſt them: In a word, they diſcover ſo much probity in their dealings, either through a principle of conſcience, or for fear of puniſhment, that one is often obliged to admire their honeſty.

But the caſe is not the ſame with the *Chriſtians* that live amongſt the *Turks*, and eſpecially the *Greeks*; who, notwithſtanding the chaſtiſements they are made to ſuffer, live in ſo licentious a manner, as ſullies the purity of *Chriſtianity*. As to the *Franks*, over whom the *Turks* have no juriſdiction, I ſhall obſerve a profound ſilence concerning them; nevertheleſs, one might be very merry, in treating upon this article; but I ſhall take care, not to allow myſelf to make too free with them: It would readily be believed, I only criticized on their actions, through my hatred to the goſpel, which I am very wrongfully accuſed of having forſaken. Let us not harp, therefore, upon that ſtring; it will not bear touching by me; rather let us finiſh this deſcription, by a ſhort

ſketch of the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, whereof I have hitherto ſaid but very little.

The *Boſphorus* begins at *Conſtantinople*, and ends at the *Black Sea*, formerly the *Pontus Euxinus* of the ancients. It is about ſeven leagues long, but is not equally broad every where. It is continually forming little bays and capes, in ſome places contracting itſelf, and in others growing wider; nevertheleſs, one may fix it's narroweſt part at the breadth of three quarters of a mile, and the wideſt, at that of a ſmall league. It is every where incloſed by little hills, moſt of them ſloping, upon the ſides of which one ſees charming villages, magnificent houſes, and ſtately gardens. All theſe different places, are ſeparated from each other, by large open vineyards, planted with fruit-trees, and with laurel, and cypreſs, fig and olive-trees. Which, joined to the various colours of the uncultivated plants, and herbs, that are upon barren rocks, or neglected places, and whoſe ſmell nevertheleſs is extremely ſweet and agreeable, form, both in *Europe*, and *Aſia*, ſuch charming, and ſo finely diverſify'd amphitheatres, that one can hardly take off one's eyes from ſuch inchanting landſcapes.

From the *Pontus Euxinus* to *Bukdera*, that is, for about a league, one can only ſee the two laſt caſtles, that guard the entrance into the canal; and two old ruined towers, which are called the *Towers of Ovid*. The two other caſtles are about half way up the *Boſphorus*, or four leagues from *Conſtantinople*. Thus there are eight caſtles, to defend the two entrances into the canal of *Conſtantinople*; four on the ſide of the *Archipelago*, and four on that of the *Black Sea*.

The current of the *Boſphorus* is ſo rapid, that one would think, the *Black Sea* muſt diminiſh conſiderably; nevertheleſs, the *Helleſpont* intermingles it's waters

waters but little with thoſe of that ſea; becauſe, as faſt as it receives thoſe on the ſurface, a counter-current is form'd at the bottom, which carries back an equal quantity into the *Black Sea.* This flux and reflux, in this place, is eaſy to be known, by the nets of the fiſhermen, which become quite even, and will not ſink lower than five or ſix feet: Nevertheleſs, for all this proof, which I have made diverſe times, I fancied a great quantity of the waters of the *Black Sea* emptied themſelves into the *Helleſpont.* For, thought I within myſelf, one may obſerve almoſt the ſame rapidity, from the ſtreights of *Gallipoli,* almoſt to the iſle of *Tenedos*; and it is certain, this prodigious quantity which runs out every day, would leave the ſea of *Marmora* dry, if it did not receive freſh ſupplies from the *Pontus Euxinus.* But a learned *Venetian* has induced me to alter my opinion; and has given me a very plauſible reaſon for ſo doing. The *Helleſpont,* ſays he, is not of a ſufficient extent, to be able to contain within it's boſom, all the brooks and ſmall rivers, that diſembogue themſelves into it; were it not to diſcharge them again, the iſle of *Marmora,* with all the others, would be overflow'd; becauſe this ſmall ſea is like a baſon, out of which the too copious ſupply of waters could not run, were it not for the ſtreights of *Gallipoli*; ſo that one cannot conclude, that the current which reigns, from theſe ſtreights to the *White Sea,* is form'd of the waters of the *Pontus Euxinus,* but rather of the ſuperfluity of thoſe of the *Helleſpont*; for this current is not quite ſo rapid at the *Dardanelles,* as in the *Boſphorus*; whereas, it muſt be much more violent, to be able to diſembogue all thoſe of the *Black Sea,* together with the others it receives from the *Helleſpont.*

END of the Second Part.

MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT *BONNEVAL*, &c.

PART III.

Sequel of the Story of Count BONNEVAL.

THE *Spahi's*, who compoſed my convoy, or my guard, being divided into two bodies, I ſet out myſelf at the head of the firſt, leaving the other with my equipage, in order to arrive the ſooner at *Burſa*, and bathe in the hot baths, that are in the neighbourhood of that city. After ſtaying there eight days, we purſued our march, without interruption, as far as *Aleppo*; and, as my inſtructions were, to make an exact enquiry into the conduct of the *Baſſa* of *Damaſcus*, I ſtaid there for a month.

Having

Having there drawn up a circumſtantial memorial of all I had been able to diſcover, I thought myſelf bound in charity, before my ſending it away to the *Porte*, to uſe my utmoſt endeavours, to ſave that governor from the ruin, into which he was on the point of falling; for the accuſations brought againſt him ſeem'd to me ſo weighty, that his life was in imminent danger. I went on then to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where this *Baſſa* waited for me, with a reſtleſs impatience: His conſcience, which would not ſuffer him, to be at all eaſy, made him apprehenſive, that I had orders to ſecure him; and he knew himſelf unable to reſiſt me, having but few troops, and thoſe ſo diſcontented, that they ſeemed no ways inclined to ſupport him; beſides which, the inhabitants of that city abhorr'd him, and thirſted only after his death or diſgrace.

His civilities to me, ſeem'd to be not without deſign; he had entertained ſome notions within himſelf, which were no leſs, than to draw me into the ſame crooked labyrinth, wherein he had engaged but too far himſelf: This I was ſecretly apprized of, by an Officer of the *Spahi*'s, who had enter'd into a diſcourſe, with one of the *Baſſa*'s principal confidants, upon this head.

Good manners, and an open eaſy behaviour, may ſupply the place of thoſe accompliſhments we want; this may ſoften, what is ſhocking, in plain truth, and diſguſting in remonſtrances; this may alſo diſguiſe the deformity of actions, and deprive them of all that is likely to alarm ſelf-love. Our outward carriage and appearance, is what firſt ſtrikes thoſe, who are not acquainted with us; and this firſt impreſſion, gives them ſuch a notion of us, as either eſtranges them from us, or prepoſſeſſes them in our favour.

I ſent a favourable account of him to the *Porte*, and he was pardoned.

This important affair being ended, I embark'd at *Tripoli* for *Damieta*; from whence I proceeded on to *Suez*. This road is extremely rugged and fatiguing; and one muſt be endued with extraordinary courage, to bear up under the exceſſive heats, with which this country is in a manner parched up. I can compare it to nothing better than to thoſe flames of *Purgatory*, which the *Romiſh* monks and friars paint out with ſo much energy; and it is very certain, could I have exempted myſelf, by money, from undergoing the intenſe heats of this clime, as thoſe worthy gentlemen pretend may be done in the other caſe, I ſhould have given a conſiderable ſum for that purpoſe. But, as the burning ſands, and ſcorching ſun-beams of *Arabia* are real, and the flames of *Purgatory* are only imaginary, and meer human inventions, I was obliged to ſubmit to their utmoſt violence.

After having reſted myſelf two or three days at *Suez*, I review'd all the troops that were there drawn together; and, it muſt be confeſs'd, I fell into a great conſternation, when, inſtead of good ſoldiers, I ſaw only a company of miſerable wretches, almoſt naked, and without any other arms than their ſcymitars. What am I to do with theſe poor creatures, ſaid I to the *Spahi's*, who were appointed for my guard? How is it poſſible to govern, and command ſuch ſoldiers, in a deſart country, where one cannot find any thing, that is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of an army? Hereupon, having called together the officers of the *Spahi's*, I acquainted them with a ſcheme I had formed, which ſeem'd to me the only one that was practicable, for the execution of my deſign.

This

This was, to chuſe out, from amongſt this confuſed multitude, a ſmall company of the youngeſt and moſt vigorous, to teach them the exerciſe after the *European* manner, and to write to the Baſſa of *Grand Cairo*, for a ſupply of what arms were requiſite. They all agreed, this was the only courſe, that could be taken, for our ſecurity, in the midſt of theſe deſarts: Accordingly, I picked out about eight hundred infantry, with near a thouſand cavalry, and ſent away all the reſt. I kept alſo all the camels, and other beaſts of burthen, with whatever in general was neceſſary, for the carriage of our proviſion and baggage; inſomuch, that I reduced my army to three thouſand and ſome few hundreds, all young, vigorous, and *Mahometans*; being apprehenſive of ſome treachery from the others, and eſpecially from the *Greeks* and *Arabs*.

After having diſpatch'd fifty of the principal *Spahis* to *Grand Cairo*, I began to ſet about diſciplining my ſmall body of forces; wherein I was greatly aſſiſted by my two *Swiſs*, and the eight *Germans*, preſented me by the *Grand Seignior*: They had all ſerved in the army, and were perfectly well inſtructed in the military art. I made the two *Swiſs* my lieutenant-generals; one commanded the horſe, and the other the foot; and, as to the *Germans*, they were promoted to the rank of colonels, and were to act indifferently in either *Corps*: Accordingly, they took care to teach them all their exerciſe, and I reſerved only the training up the *Spahi's* to myſelf. At the end of ſix months, I found, with a ſenſible pleaſure, that my little army were capable of fully performing their duty; and had the farther ſatisfaction, to receive, from the *Baſſa* of *Grand Cairo*, all I had demanded; to which he had even added ſix ſmall cannon, that might eaſily be carried on the backs of camels.

My

My men being now well arm'd, and provided of proviſion for near two months, I prepared myſelf for a march; which was to be along the coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, ſo famous in ſacred hiſtory; but before I proceed, with the relation of this expedition, it may not be improper, to give my readers ſome notion of my government; namely, of *Arabia Petræa*, or the *Stony*, call'd by the *Turks*, *Daſcalik Arabiſtan*, which is the moſt *Weſtern* of the three *Arabia*'s; the other two being *Arabia Felix*, or the *Happy*; and *Arabia Deſerta*, or the *Deſart*.

Arabia Petræa, then, is bounded on the *North* by *Paleſtine*, or the *Holy Land*, and by a part of *Syria*; on the *Eaſt* by *Arabia Deſerta*, and part of *Arabia Felix*, which alſo terminates its extent on the *South*: It runs along the *Red Sea*, inclining towards *Egypt*. Its *Northern* part, which is full of rocks and mountains, is but little inhabited, on account of its barrenneſs; but its *Southern Parts* are fruitful and pretty well peopled: Its principal cities are *Buſareth*, *Crac*, *Mecca*, and *Medina*; and *Petra*, from whence it derives its name, is its capital. However, this city, which is ſituated towards the *Dead Sea*, was not to be the ſeat of my government; for I had orders to reſide at *Crac*, that I might be at hand, to oppoſe the incurſions and ravages of the *Check*, who had retired to ſome mountains, not far from this city.

It muſt be obſerved here, that, notwithſtanding the *Turks* are, in ſome meaſure, ſovereigns of the three *Arabia*'s, they are only poſſeſſed of the *North* part of *Arabia Petræa*; the other being ſubject to their own *Checks* or *Emirs*; who are tributary to the *Grand Seignior*, almoſt in the ſame manner as the republick of *Algiers*. But, as the *Ottoman Porte* were then greatly diſſatisfied with theſe petty princes, I had orders to make myſelf maſter of all their

their ſovereignties, except thoſe of *Mecca* and *Medina*; which order I executed, with ſo much vigilance and expedition, that, in leſs than a year, they acknowledg'd no other power than the *Sultan*, throughout *Arabia Petræa*.

Having continued my march then, along the *Red Sea*, for eight days, I found myſelf obliged to remove from thence, by an accident, which was very near deſtroying my whole little army in the ſpace of an hour.

One evening, having diſcover'd a plain of very firm ſand, and border'd with ſome ſhady trees, I reſolved to encamp, and paſs the night there. But ſcarce had we enjoy'd two or three hours reſt, when the centinels began to cry out, with the utmoſt vehemence, telling us, that the ſea flow'd in upon our tents with the greateſt impetuoſity. Nevertheleſs, I gave ſuch good orders, on this occaſion, that I loſt only five or ſix camels, which were carried away by the waves. I had not conſidered, that the *Red Sea*, being a very narrow, though deep, gulph or bay, the ocean flows into it with ſuch extreme rapidity, that it ſwells and increaſes prodigiouſly; and conſequently, when it ebbs, it abandons the ſhore, and leaves a large extent of ground quite dry. The want of reflecting on this, was near coſting me my life, together with the loſs of all my ſmall body of forces; for I was attack'd, within two days after, by the *Cheek*, who would not have failed taking advantage of this diſaſter, had it been more conſiderable.

In ſhort, *Redi Kourdac*, (for ſo was the rebellious *Cheek* called) being informed that the *Porte* had ſent troops againſt him, had gather'd together all his forces, to ſecure himſelf from this impending danger. This ſort of ſovereign had been poſſeſs'd of a ſmall, but very agreeable, country, lying between *Medina* and *Crac*; but, not ſubmitting to

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pay the annual tribute, required of him by the *Porte*, orders had been given, to the *Emir* of *Mecca*, to ſeize upon his dominions; which had been done accordingly.

The *Check* then, full of fury, no longer kept any meaſures; he retired into the mountains, in the *Northern* part of *Arabia Petræa*, where he drew together ſome *Banditti*, at the head of whom, he laid waſte the city of *Petra*, with ſeveral villages of the *Holy Land*. By little and little, he formed a ſort of army, of about eighteen thouſand men; who, for about two years, had been guilty of unparallel'd diſorders: Not a caravan could eſcape his fury; and he maſſacred, without pity, all *Mahometans*, who fell into his clutches, without having the leaſt regard, either to their rank or character.

I had diſpoſed my little body into ſeveral parties; the baggage was guarded by two hundred foot, and a hundred horſe; whilſt the reſt of the cavalry, and infantry, march'd in battalions and ſquadrons: My *Spahi's* formed a ſquare battalion, in the center of which I was myſelf, that I might be at hand, to diſpatch them every where with the neceſſary orders; I had alſo detached two troops to bring in intelligence.

The day whereon I was attack'd, *Redi Kourdat*, being informed of my march by ſome *Arabs*, whom I had diſmiſs'd, was deſirous of taking a view of my forces: Already had he kept by the ſide of me for near a week, and I was ignorant of it; for, as he was perfectly well acquainted with the country, he only march'd in the night. He was not ſufficiently apprized of the number of my troops, to venture to attack me in the plains; but as ſoon as I had approach'd ſome mountains, he advanced with a conſiderable body of cavalry, upon a riſing ground, from whence he had a full ſight of my little army;

whereupon, finding me no better attended, he fancied it would be very eaſy utterly to defeat me.

As ſoon as ſome ſcouts had brought me word of the enemy's approach, I prepared myſelf for an engagement; and drew up my troops after the *European* manner: And two priſoners, whom the *Spahi's* took, having informed me, that, in his whole army, conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, he had not above two hundred that had fire-arms, I enjoyned my troops, not to make uſe of their ſcymitars, unleſs in caſe of neceſſity. I then formed two batteries of my ſix pieces of cannon, and ſurrounded part of my camp with ditches of ſand; the other part being ſecured from any attack, by a ſteep and inacceſſible rock; ſo that I expected my enemy, with great ſatisfaction, who appeared about an hour before ſun-ſet.

The impetuoſity with which theſe wretches ruſh'd on, when they attacked my troops, far from diſmaying them, only increaſed their courage, being fully aſſured, their pretended bravery would ſoon be conſiderably abated: And, in effect, ſcarce had they made two diſcharges of their fire-arms, before the enemy diſperſed themſelves in an inſtant, and fled towards the mountains. I had before ſent two ſquadrons to a narrow paſſage, through which I foreſaw they would take their flight, in caſe they were beaten; and what I had foreſeen came to paſs. *Redi Kourdac*, being no longer able to rally his troops, who were terribly frighten'd by the cannon and ſmall-arms, endeavoured to make his eſcape through this place, at the head of two thouſand of his men; whereupon, the two ſquadrons fired upon them ſo juſtly, and ſo ſeaſonably, that they killed a great number; and I, flying to ſupport them, at the head of my *Spahi's*, we made a horrible ſlaughter of them. I had ordered them to ſpare the *Check*, to the end he might

might be taken alive; and as it was pretty eaſy to diſtinguiſh him, the *Swiſs*, who commanded the cavalry, opened himſelf a paſſage to him, kill'd his horſe with a piſtol-ſhot, and cut off his right arm, with a ſtroke of his ſcymitar; ſo that he was overcome, forſaken by his men, and made a priſoner, within the ſmall ſpace of two hours.

This ſhort expedition gave me ſo much the more pleaſure, becauſe I ſuffer'd greatly in theſe deſarts, not only by the exceſſive heats, but for want of good ſuſtenance. It is true, I had a pretty plentiful ſtore of wine and fowls; and there were abundance of cattle in this country, though barren; but then we wanted fuel to dreſs the victuals, and the wine and water were ſo hot, it was impoſſible to quench one's thirſt; ſo that my only ſupport was a few biſcuits, dipt in this burning wine.

However, after this victory, we arrived at a mountain, where we found a ſpring of water, and ſome buſhes to dreſs our victuals; but I was ſtill near twenty days, before I reach'd *Grac.* This painful march greatly diſordered my health; and an acute fever, with which I had been afflicted near three weeks, quite exhauſted my ſtrength; inſomuch, that it coſt me almoſt ſix months, to recover entirely of the fatigue of this expedition, and of my illneſs.

Mean while, the *Check* my priſoner, notwithſtanding the good uſage I had order'd to be ſhewn him, having endeavoured divers times to make his eſcape; and having try'd a thouſand ways, to bribe ſome of the *Spahi's*, whom I had appointed for his guards; I reſolved to rid my hands of him, by ſending him to the *Emir* of *Medina*; who had him convey'd to *Conſtantinople*, where he was ſtrangled. This done, I employ'd myſelf wholly, whilſt I was upon my recovery, to reſtore good order in the city

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of *Crac*, and all the country under my government, where unparallel'd rapine was daily practiſed, and where the groſs ignorance of the people, prevented one's knowing what God they adored, or what religion they profeſs'd.

The *Turks*, too far from the *Porte* to obſerve any meaſures, had made the *Chriſtians* ſlaves; and the latter, poorly inſtructed in the principles of their religion, confounded the worſhip of the true God, with the moſt horrible ſuperſtitions. The manners, both of the one and the other, ſeem'd yet more corrupted; and, I muſt own, I was greatly moved at the melancholy condition, wherein I found them. This induced me to labour, without intermiſſion, to root out, from amongſt the former, their acts of injuſtice, robberies, maſſacres, and cruelties; and to baniſh from the latter thoſe groſs vices, whereof they made no ſcruple.

Being perſuaded, that there always remain, in the breaſt of every man, ſome traces of light and reaſon, which enable them to diſcern the common rules of juſtice and equity, I awaken'd in them the authority of that tacit law, that is imprinted in the heart; in order to engage them to conſider it ſo far, as to regulate thereby all their actions, and to condemn and abhor all crimes. For heaven has engraved in every ſoul this kind of knowledge, together with the love of juſtice; but, as I was alſo convinced, that reaſon alone is not ſufficient, to inſtruct us in the laws of nature; and that they do not occur to the thoughts of every one, I cauſed ſome edicts to be publiſh'd, containing only the notions common to all men, and conformable to what meer nature has taught them.

Herein I laid it down as a fundamental principle, that man is deſtined for ſociety; that the continual neceſſities

neceſſities of life ſubject them to each other, and that therefore they ought mutually to help one another. That each of them being members of the ſame body, are obliged to labour for its preſervation, and not to undertake any thing, which may interrupt the harmony, or diſturb the tranquillity thereof; in ſhort, that this obligation includes a ſubmiſſion and obedience to thoſe, who are eſtabliſh'd for the maintenance of this harmony and tranquillity, which was what mankind aimed at, in uniting themſelves into one ſociety; but then again, on the other hand, that they who are appointed to govern others, ought to act according to natural order and equity, without which, the judge and magiſtrate degenerate into tyrants, and the people into ſavages, whom fear diſguſts and provokes, and frequently renders more like wild beaſts, than human creatures.

After having publiſh'd theſe edicts, I nominated other judges, leſs tardy than the former, and cauſed ſuch ſtrict juſtice to be obſerved, that, in a ſhort time the roads were free from robbers, and the travellers ſafe from inſults: And as there is nothing will more effectually civilize men, than the good that is done them, or that which they hope for, my diſintereſted conduct inſpired them with ſo much love for me, that all of them obey'd me, rather out of affection than duty. I ſeized therefore judiciouſly this opportunity, to incite them to the practice of the moral virtues, from the principles of reaſon, and the light of nature, which teaches mankind to be ſincere in their words, juſt to their promiſes, equitable in their proceedings, and conformable in every thing to juſtice, not ſo much through fear of puniſhment, as through their own inclinations.

I would not conſtrain any one upon the head of religion; live and die who will, ſaid I, in *Mahometiſm*, or in the *Chriſtian* faith; but I declare, I will

will own none but those for my subjects, and my friends, who will sincerely renounce all vice, injustice, robberies and murthers, and will apply themselves to lead a regular and virtuous life. None but those, who will shew humanity, compassion and charity one to another; who will be of a mild, humane, beneficent temper, and will supply the poor with a sufficiency to deliver them from want and misery; let such as these, said I, be assured of my entire protection and esteem; nay, I will exempt them from all the duties, to which I may become entitled. By this means, I found myself, in a short time, reverenced and dreaded by the *Mahometans*, and adored, in a manner, by the *Christians*.

A covetous man would have taken advantage of so general a submission, for the increase of his fortune and substance; but, on the contrary, I can truly affirm, I made use of it only for the happiness of the people. I had recourse to severity, to restrain the haughtiness of the great, and the insolence of the meaner sort; to get a subsistence for the poor, at the expence of the rich; to subject the wealthy *Imans*, with the *Christian* ecclesiasticks and monks, to an honest labour, in order to reduce them to an edifying and middling station, more becoming their profession than the luxurious and soft opulence wherein they lived. They gave the lye too much to the precepts of their holy religion, by their irregular and licentious behaviour.

I enacted laws likewise against my own authority, to prevent my self-interested or cruel successors, from making an ill use of their power: Being persuaded, that a prudent legislator ought to foresee what ill constructions may be put upon his laws, I drew up clear and exact explanations of them, in order to obviate those inevitable mischiefs, that equi-

vocal expreſſions might have produced: In a word, my moderation render'd me an abſolute ſovereign.

The inhabitants of *Crac*, ſtruck with my mild government, and diſintereſted behaviour, make the ſkies continually reſound with their praiſes and bleſſings. Every one ſtrove who ſhould be firſt, in ſupplying my houſe with whatever was moſt rare and exquiſite. Every one wrote commendations of me, to thoſe who were abſent, and made them the ſubject of his diſcourſe, in his family, or amongſt his friends and neighbours; ſo that people flock'd, from the moſt remote places, to bring me their offerings of ſuch things, as they ſuppoſed I had not.

Whilſt I was thus employing myſelf, in all the duties of a good and prudent governor, I heard, with a great deal of grief, that my two faithful *Swiſs*, whom I had detach'd with my ſmall army, to make themſelves maſters of all the country, as far as the neighbourhood of *Medina*, had unfortunately fallen into an ambuſcade of *Arabs*, formed out of the remains of the *Check*'s troops; and that, after a bloody engagement, wherein they had loſt two hundred men, they were on their return to *Crac*. This unforeſeen news determined me to ſet out and join them, in order to quite extirpate the reſt of thoſe *Banditti*.

My health was ſtill but precarious, however I exerted all my ſtrength, and put myſelf at the head of my brave *Spahi's*, with two hundred *Turkiſh* horſe, whom I had cauſed to be diſciplined like the reſt. This reinforcement gave freſh courage to my army; inſomuch, that, for the ſpace of four months, I harraſſed thoſe wretches with ſo much vigilance, purſuing them from rock to rock, that at laſt I wholly exterminated them.

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We made, in this expedition, about a thouſand priſoners; amongſt which were found ſix *Chriſtians*, five *Germans*, and one who called himſelf a *Maltezer*. This latter ſeemed to me well made, and of a good mien, but I did not take much notice of him juſt at that time; however, I retained them all in my ſervice, in order to increaſe the number of my domeſticks: Theſe ſix men, who had accompanied their maſter, who was going on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, had been made priſoners by theſe *Arabs*.

Already had I been two years abſent from *Conſtantinople*, without having received any news, either from the *Porte*, the *Sultan*, or any of my friends; this ſilence ſeemed to me to forebode me ſome ill. The more I reflected thereon, the more my alarms increaſed; inſomuch that, inſenſibly, they robb'd me entirely of my repoſe; and I began to be apprehenſive, that the fatal revolution, which the *Kaimakan* had foretold me, was at laſt come to paſs. This my uneaſineſs, together with the remembrance of my dear wife, which never forſook me, but at ſhort intervals, reduced me to a condition it would be difficult to deſcribe.

One morning, after having had a cruel night, I got up at four o' clock, and went down into my garden, there to indulge my gloomy thoughts, imagining that all my ſervants were buried in a profound ſleep; and as I was there walking up and down, with a pace, that ſufficiently diſcovered the agitation of my mind, one of the *Chriſtian* priſoners, who had been in my houſe about two or three days, accoſts me all on a ſudden. Quite loſt in thought I never perceived him before me; but his unexpected ſpeech ſoon brought me to my ſenſes.

'Above an hour, ſaid this ſtranger, in very 'good *French*, have I been obſerving you, O! il-'luſtrious and generous *Baſſa*; you ſeem to me full

'of grief, uneaſineſs, and melancholy; may I pre-
'ſume to take the liberty, of aſking whether you
'are really Count *Bonneval?* A ſlave aſſured me
'yeſterday, that you were, and that is a name I
'I am very well acquainted with. Why do you
'aſk me that queſtion, cry'd I, interrupting him
'mildly? Becauſe, my lord, anſwer'd he, in that
'caſe, I have ſomewhat of importance to commu-
'nicate to you: I am a man of family; and you
'may rely upon what I ſhall declare to you.

'Was it never your fortune, to marry a young
'lady of great beauty at *Venice?* At leaſt ſhe
'gave herſelf out to be your ſpouſe; it is now about
'two years ſince I ſaw her at *Malta.*' It may be eaſily judged, by what I have related of the charming *Salviati*, what effect theſe words produced within my breaſt; whereupon, the ſlave, having remarked the great impreſſion they had made upon me, ſoon imagined the truth. 'I find, continued he, your
'mind is highly perplexed, nevertheleſs, you ought
'to make yourſelf eaſy; the pleaſing hope, of ſoon be-
'holding her again, cannot be vain. Already,
'before my departure from that iſland, the grand
'maſter had taken her under his protection, and
'had promiſed to have her ſafely conveyed to *Ve-*
'*nice.* I never ſaw her but once, though I am
'ſomewhat related to her; becauſe I was obliged to
'go on board a galley, that was ordered to cruiſe
'about the neighbourhood of *Cyprus*; but I was
'unfortunately attack'd and taken, about thirteen
'months ago, by ſix gallies belonging to *Egypt.*
'I was ſold to a rich merchant of *Cairo*, who, al-
'moſt at the ſame time, undertook a pilgrimage to
'*Mecca*; and, as he had but twenty horſe, two
'thouſand *Arabs* eaſily made us their prey, and cut
'the throat of my maſter, with all the *Mahometans*,
'only ſparing me, becauſe I was a *Chriſtian.*'

'O!

'O! dear ſtranger, cry'd I, your ſtory is ſome-'what too conciſe; give me I conjure you, a more 'circumſtantial account of that lady whom you 'left at *Malta*. Yes, I am the unfortunate and 'wretched Count *Bonneval*, and the charming *Sal-'viati* is my lawful wife. What chance could 'carry her to *Malta?* Diſpel, if you can, the 'gloomy thoughts that prey upon me. Have you 'never heard any thing concerning that unhappy 'fair one? Whither can ſhe be fled for refuge? 'What can become of her?'

'Count, anſwer'd the ſlave, all I can tell you, 'is, that her prudent and exemplary behaviour 'gained her illuſtrious protectors, againſt the ty-'ranny of the commander, who took the galley, 'fitted out by the *Baſſa* of *Negropont*, to carry her 'to *Conſtantinople*, where I believe ſhe may even 'now actually be. The *Chevalier de Souvre*, a 'young *French* gentleman of approved merit, was 'appointed to command the galley wherein ſhe was 'to embark; and that *Chevalier* is a man of too much 'honour, to fail of conveying her to ſome place of 'ſafety, where ſhe may be ſecure from her ene-'mies: I know nothing more of her. As for my-'ſelf, my name is *Juſtiniani*; I am nearly related 'to the illuſtrious family of the *Cornaro's*; believ-'ing my extraction would induce you to ſhew me 'ſome regard, I reſolved upon unboſoming myſelf 'to you; for, notwithſtanding your having re-'nounced *Chriſtianity*, I fancy you have ſtill a 'Chriſtian ſoul, and a *French* heart. Oh! That ſoul 'and that heart, have given me great hopes, 'and I am almoſt certain of being ſoon ſet at li-'berty!

'Doubt it not, *Chevalier*, anſwer'd I, I break 'your chains this inſtant; you ſhall no longer be 'my ſlave, but my ſincere friend. I have too

'many obligations to the family of the *Cornaros*, 'to whom you are related, to be wanting in grati-'tude. I offer you my purſe, my table; and, in 'general, every thing you have need of, till my 'return to *Conſtantinople*, where I will procure you 'a paſſage to *Malta*. But, alas! I know not 'whether ever I ſhall again behold that city; not 'having had the leaſt news for theſe two years, 'either from the *Porte*, or from *Sultan Achmet*, 'who honoured me with the moſt diſtinguiſhing 'marks of his favour: And this ſurprizing ſilence, 'with the thoughts of my dear *Salviati*, cauſe all my 'apprehenſions, and uneaſineſs.'

'How! Count, cry'd *Juſtiniani*, why this diſcourſe 'aſtoniſhes me! What, are you not inform'd of 'the revolution that has happened at the *Porte*? '*Sultan Achmet* has been dethroned, and his bro-'ther *Soliman* put in his place. This is what I 'heard from my maſter, who fearing a ſedition at '*Grand Cairo*, ſet out on a ſudden for *Mecca*.' 'Ah! *Chevalier*, ſaid I, of what ſtrange news, do 'you inform me? Much I fear the fall of *Ach-'met* will prove the fore-runner of my ruin.'

In effect, my conſternation, on hearing this, was exceſſive; and, in a word, it brought again upon me ſo profound a melancholy, that I remained for near a month in a kind of ſtupefaction; Nevertheleſs, *Juſtiniani*, who never left me, after the day we had this converſation, diſpell'd by little and little the deep melancholy that oppreſſed me; and even obliged me, by his prudent counſels, to labour after my own ſafety: In ſhort, being impatient to be apprized of all the particulars of this revolution, that had precipitated *Achmet* from the throne, and, being well aſſured the *Check* of *Mecca* was not ignorant of any one circumſtance relating thereto, I

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diſpatch'd two *Spahi's* thither with a letter, deſiring he would ſend me an account thereof.

At the end of two months, I ſaw them return, with joy in their looks, which ſeem'd to preſage ſome good; and, in effect, the *Cheek* not only informed me of all the circumſtances of the revolution, but alſo of the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of *Achmet* upon the throne; concluding his letter with an invitation to viſit the tomb of the *Holy Prophet*, and thank him for his ſingular favour, in having choſen me into the number of *True Believers*; adding alſo, that, as I muſt be convinced, I ſhould ſoon be remanded to the *Porte*, this duty was indiſpenſible, it being abſolutely neceſſary, we ſhould have a conference together about the affairs relating to my government.

This laſt reaſon perſuaded me more than any devotion to the prophet; becauſe it was indeed requiſite, to diſpoſe things in ſuch a manner, that the little ſovereignties, whereof I had made myſelf maſter, might be ſecured from inſults, and from all attempts of their former lords, who would not fail to uſe their utmoſt endeavours again to recover them.

Being then determined to take a trip to *Mecca*, I prepared every thing needful for that journey, for which I allotted two months only, being afraid a longer abſence might delay my return to *Conſtantinople*, to which I hoped daily to be recalled. Every thing being in readineſs, I formed only a ſmall flying camp of four hundred horſe, in order to make the longer marches, and took only what was abſolutely neceſſary; giving the command of this detachment to *Juſtiniani* and one of the *Swiſs*; and leaving one of the *Swiſs* at *Crac*, to ſupply my place in the mean time: In ſhort, this done, we made the beſt of our way to *Medina*.

'Tis a vulgar error, to imagine that no *Chriſtians* dare enter *Mecca*; for the *Mahometans*, who undertake this pilgrimage conſtantly, are attended by *Chriſtian* ſlaves, who wait upon them; and theſe ſlaves follow them, even into the moſque, where the body of their prophet lies: Beſides, my poſt of governor of *Arabia Petræa*, render'd me, in a manner, ſovereign both of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Theſe cities are abſolutely tributary to the *Grand Seignior*, and he who was *Cheek*, during my reſidence in that country, had only neglected paying it, becauſe I had excuſed him from it, on account of his having done me ſome important ſervices, which it is needleſs to ſpecify.

I was obliged indeed to ſacrifice a ſheep at *Medina*, according to cuſtom, and to be entirely conformable to all the religious ceremonies, that are required of all pilgrims without exception: This ſacrifice however is by no means idolatrous, nor prophane; ſo that I did not think myſelf guilty of any crime, in complying with this injunction. I then ſent away before me the preſents I had ſet apart for the *Cheek* of *Mecca*; for theſe preſents are a kind of offering, whereof we muſt not fail by any means, ſince, otherwiſe, one ſhould be reckoned irreligious, and an *Anti-Muſſulman*; the *Turkiſh* eccleſiaſticks being, in this reſpect, almoſt like the *Chriſtians*. Intereſt is a powerful ſpecific, to gain the good-will of all of them; and, without the good-will of thoſe gentlemen, you are counted prophane, ſacrilegious, atheiſtical, and what not? All my preſents conſiſted only of a rich tent, twenty-two fine *Perſian* carpets, and twelve thouſand chequins.

I found the *Cheek* waiting for me without the city, under the tent I ſent him; he was an ancient man, and ſeem'd to me to be endued with ſingular good

good ſenſe; and all my retinue were entertained at his expence, during the ten days I ſtaid at *Mecca*. None but *Juſtiniani* and the *Swiſs*, with ſix others, *Chriſtian* ſlaves, had the privilege of attending me to the tomb of *Mahomet*; where there is nothing to be ſeen, but what is very ordinary.

The world are now recover'd from that ridiculous prepoſſeſſion, that the tomb of that legiſlator is ſuſpended in the air; otherwiſe, I could aſſure them, that his remains reſt in a ſort of little chapel, where his body was interred: Even his monument is hardly worth notice, its only ornament being that it is encompaſs'd with iron rails. I begg'd of the chevalier *Juſtiniani*, who was a perfect maſter of deſigning, to take a draught of this tomb, together with the inſide and outſide of the chapel or moſque; my intent being, to have a model made from thence in alabaſter by one of my *Germans*, who was an excellent carver. And as *Arabia* abounds in a ſort of alabaſter, whither than ſnow, and very eaſy to be wrought, my *German* made made me a little moſque, wherein one might have a full view of the prophet's tomb, and which may be truly call'd a maſter-piece, being finiſh'd to perfection. I made a preſent thereof to Sultan *Achmet*, ſo that it is now become the admiration and veneration of all the great officers of the *Porte*.

Too many relations have been already given of *Mecca* and *Medina*, with all the ceremonies obſerved by the *Turks* in this pilgrimage, for me to repeat, or copy after thoſe authors: Beſides, all particular accounts of this nature, ſeem ſo tedious to the readers, that I thought I ſhould oblige them, in leaving out of theſe memoirs all deſcriptions of cities and countries.

After having ſettled all affairs with the *Check*, and concerted proper meaſures, to ſecure to the *Grand*

Grand Seignior the places reduced, he diſmiſſed me after the uſual manner; and to make me a compenſation for my preſents, gave me an infinite number of bleſſings, with ſome relicks of the holy prophet's; conſiſting of ſome tatters of the *Check's* old tent; and a carpet, that had lain upon the prophet's tomb: And, as I never ſet much value upon any relick, I diſtributed this preſent amongſt my *Spahi's*, and the principal *Turks* of my retinue; after which, we prepared for our return to *Grac*, where I arrived in perfect health, and almoſt free from melancholy.

It is very certain, it often happens, that a certain diſpoſition of mind, is a preſage either of ſome good luck, or ſome miſchance that is to befal us. For about two years and an half I had only been full of gloomy thoughts, which prey'd upon my health, and prevented my enjoying any ſatisfaction; when my reſerv'd temper and melancholy forſake me all at once; and joy takes poſſeſſion of my ſoul, without my being able to aſſign any reaſon for this agreeable change in my mind. I find a certain inward contentment, on a ſudden, within my breaſt, which renders me inexpreſſibly gay. *Juſtiniani*, ſurprized at ſuch an unexpected alteration, knew not what to think, but imagined I had received ſome agreeable news, which I was willing to conceal from him; and which, however, did not come till above a week after this kind of *Criſis*.

I receive then an expreſs order, to be at the *Porte* as ſoon as poſſible; the *Sultan* only aſſured me of the continuance of his favour; but the *Kaimakan* acquainted me with diverſe other circumſtances, and thoſe circumſtances gave me abundance of pleaſure. I believed, from that moment, that all the misfortunes of my life were about ſoon to have an end: yes, I was perſuaded, that all my

days

days of ſorrow were almoſt come to a period. I retired then ſome moments, to dedicate all my thoughts to my dear *Salviati*; who, as I was informed, was ſoon to be at *Conſtantinople*; the *Sultan* having diſpatch'd orders to the *Aga* of *Canea*, whither ſhe had been brought in a *Malteze* galley, to pay her the ſame reſpect, as if ſhe was a ſultaneſs, and to provide her a ſtrong convoy, in order to her arriving ſafely at the *Porte*.

He alſo wrote me word, that the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, my ſworn enemy, had been ſacrificed to the juſt reſentment of *Achmet*; that, during *Soliman*'s ſhort reign, he had obtained a *Feſta* from the *Mufti*, that condemn'd me to the bow-ſtring, which *Achmet* not only had revok'd, but had likewiſe depoſed the *Mufti*, who had been ſo condeſcending to ſign it.

Having apprized *Juſtiniani*, and my principal officers, with this favourable news, they celebrated, as a kind of thankſgiving, for the victory I had gained over my enemies, a publick rejoicing that laſted eight days; which ſort of feſtivals are called, by the *Turks*, *Zinch*: We believe our readers will not be diſpleaſed with a ſhort deſcription thereof, which is as follows:

As ſoon as I had iſſued out the neceſſary orders for this ſolemnity, the cryer proclaimed the feſtival through all the ſtreets; which done, all the troops, being drawn up before my palace, publiſh'd it alſo, by ten or twelve diſcharges, both of the ſmall arms and cannon, that were placed in due diſtance before the gate. Next day ſeveral enſigns of diverſe colours were diſplay'd from the *Minarets* of the moſques, and the ſteeples of the *Chriſtian* churches; as was likewiſe the ſtandard of a *Baſſa* of three horſe-tails, with my arms, and many ingenious devices in honour

honour both of me and my ſpouſe, upon the terras of the *Hotel* where I reſided.

I was indebted for theſe devices to the gratitude of the chevalier *Juſtiniani*; and, as he was alſo a good engineer, he entertained me with ſeveral others, ſo very extraordinary, in ſome fire-works which he deſigned, and cauſed to be play'd off by the *Germans*, that undoubtedly I was highly obliged to him.

From the very firſt day, all the inhabitants of the city hung out in the ſtreets, and at their doors, whatever they had that was moſt precious; as was done alſo at all the *Kans*, and *Bazars*, where one might ſee all that *Arabia* or *Perſia* could afford moſt valuable, either carpets, or other merchandize.

All along the doors of theſe *Kans*, which are of a conſiderable depth, were placed great numbers of lights, branches, and lamps, wherein were burnt aromatic ſpices, and gums, that perfumed the air; they were ranged in ſtories one above another, and yielded a moſt agreeable proſpect. All the ſtreets were ſtrewed with flowers, and in the ſquare, before my palace, they had erected a ſtage, in the form of a throne, where I was to receive the homage of the *Citizens*. The two courts of the *Hotel*, allotted for the governors, were fill'd with an immenſe number of thoſe precious and fine trees which *Arabia* affords; there were at leaſt two thouſand, ranged in alleys, that formed a kind of foreſt, and ſcented the ſkies with their ſweet odours.

Every thing being in readineſs, firſt the *Turkiſh* officers, according to their rank, came and render'd me their homage; then the *Chriſtian* prieſts; and laſtly, all the companies of tradeſmen; inſomuch, that I gave audience for three hours every day, and each

each company brought their preſents. It was then I was convinced, how far the love of the people to their governors may extend. In effect, I don't believe a hundred camels could have carried all the preſents I received, during the eight days that the feſtival laſted, both in perfumes, and other precious things, which the three *Arabia's* produce. But what aſtoniſhed me moſt of all, was to find amongſt theſe preſents, above the value of fifty thouſand chequins in precious ſtones of all ſorts, and a noble necklace of thirty large and fine pearls, that was reckon'd worth twenty thouſand piaſtres.

What is moſt extraordinary is, that good manners did not permit me to refuſe any thing; ſince this would have been taken as an inſult, and a mark of enmity. There was found, in an inventory, which was made of theſe preſents, near three hundred pounds of *Balm* of *Mecca*, and above eight hundred of the moſt precious perfumes, from which circumſtance an eſtimate may be formed of the reſt.

Beſides, there were tables ſpread every where, in the ſtreets and publick places, where all things were in profuſion. In ſhort, nothing was there wanting but wine; which liquor I had expreſly prohibited, becauſe of the ill conſequences it might have produced. Accordingly, no diſorders were committed the whole time, all the eight days and nights being ſpent only in ſinging, dancing, and feaſting.

On the laſt day of the feſtival, I ſummoned my *Divan* to meet, which I had compoſed of the principal officers of my army, and of thoſe I had appointed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and for the civil government, that I might provide for the ſafety of the country before my departure. Accordingly, I nominated eight *Spahi's* to be governors, both of *Crac*, and the other places, aſſigning each

each of them a body of troops, not only for their guard, but to inſtruct the others in the military art.

Theſe I ſent away directly to their poſts, leaving the governor of *Crac* two troops of horſe, well diſciplined, together with a thouſand men, whereof two hundred were perfectly well inſtructed in the whole military exerciſe. I likewiſe appointed him a council or *Divan*, whereof the chief *Iman*, to whom I gave the name of *Mufti*, was preſident, and was to judge of all civil affairs without appeal; as the governor was of all military cauſes: But he could not impoſe any tax, nor make any laws, nor undertake any expedition, without the conſent of the *Divan*. Each governor had alſo a council, but all were ſubordinate to that of *Crac*.

Having thus ſettled all things, I ordered my *Swiſs* and *German* officers, to be ready to march, on the firſt day of the moon of the *Ramadan*. My convoy conſiſted of eighteen hundred men, the remains of my ſmall army, together with fifteen hundred others, that I had taken in caſe of need, to garriſon the poſts that were advantagious in upper *Arabia*, which I intended to viſit, as far as *Petra*, where I had reſolved to eſtabliſh alſo a council, for the government of all the upper part.

The day of my departure was undoubtedly to me a day of triumph; never was my ſelf-love ſo flatter'd: The tears, ſighs, and lamentations of the citizens of *Crac*, were unqueſtionable proofs of their love to me. In effect, I am fully perſuaded, the greateſt of all commendations, is when the people mourn our loſs, as they would that of a tender friend, a benefactor, or a father. Above ſix thouſand inhabitants would accompany me to *Petra*, whether

whether I would or not; my prayers and remonſtrances to the contrary were all in vain; I muſt grant them, they ſaid, this freſh mark of my friendſhip.

It may eaſily be judged, that we underwent abundance of fatigue, in traverſing a country ſo barren, and ſo full of mountains and rocks: I don't believe that, under the heavens, there is a more rugged and uncomfortable clime: Add to this the intolerable heats, and burning ſands, which deſtroy'd all the ſhoes of the men, and lamed all the feet of the beaſts of burthen; ſo that we were forced to leave behind a great number.

However, notwithſtanding the barrenneſs of this part of *Arabia*, we found cattle in abundance, plenty of game, excellent water, and wood enough for firing; ſo that, had it not been for the exceſſive heats, we ſhould not have been altogether to be pitied: And to remedy this, as much as poſſible, we march'd only by night, beating the drum continually, to drive away the wild beaſts, and monſtrous ſerpents, wherewith theſe mountains are filled.

At laſt, after a fatiguing and painful march of forty days, we arrived at *Petra*, where I ſtaid ſix weeks, both to reſt myſelf, and to give the neceſſary orders for executing the deſign I had formed. As ſoon as I had ſettled a council, and provided for the ſecurity of this upper part of my government, I left, in this city, all the troops that had follow'd me, and took only with me two hundred horſe, and a hundred foot, to drive the camels, and other beaſts of burthen.

In ſhort, the deſire, I had all my life had, to ſee *Jeruſalem*, revived then in me, and incited me to viſit that holy place; perhaps, ſaid I within myſelf, I may never again have ſo favourable an opportunity.

portunity. The *Chevalier Juſtiniani* was in raptures at my deſign, and expreſs'd his acknowledgement by the moſt lively demonſtrations of joy; whereupon I unboſom'd myſelf to him, and declared that I had never embraced *Mahometiſm*. This confidence affected him highly; and, as almoſt all the *Italians* are bigots, he could not forbear uſing ſeveral fopperies, that are cuſtomary amongſt that nation, in order to thank heaven, for having preſerved me from an action, that would have been ſo very pernicious, as he ſaid, to my ſoul.

In our way to *Jeruſalem* it was neceſſary to paſs the river *Jordan*, and this was no ſmall difficulty, it being then too much ſwell'd for us to find any fords: My *Germans* however ſurmounted it, by having ſome floats made; and, whilſt they were employ'd in getting over the baggage, I went with *Juſtiniani*, and ſome others, to view the dead ſea; but I found the ſmell of ſulphur and bitumen ſo very ſtrong, that I could hardly bear to ſtay there a quarter of an hour.

The people of the country aſſured us, that this ſea is a bottomleſs abyſs; and that one may deſcend thereby directly to hell, where thoſe miſerable cities were ſwallow'd up; but this is a notion too ridiculous to be embraced: What is certain, however, is this, that nothing will ſwim upon its ſurface; but wood, ſtraw, and other the lighteſt things, ſink therein in an inſtant.

From hence, a *Greek* monk, who ſerved us as our guide, conducted us to the ſtatue of *Lot*'s wife, changed into ſalt, or at leaſt what is ſo called; for I could not diſtinguiſh that this pretended ſtatue had the leaſt reſemblance of a human ſhape; and I was fully perſuaded, it was only a forgery of the *Greek* monks; who, to impoſe upon the credulous populace, will have ſomewhat of the *marvellous* in every thing,

thing, and have therefore ſubſtituted this miſhapen lump, in the ſtead of the wife of that patriarch. Beſides, this ſort of ſtatue ſeemed to me rather a hard and rough ſtone, than a maſs of ſalt; and I am apt to be very much of the opinion of a modern ſage, who pretends the transformation of *Lot*'s wife ought to be taken in a figurative ſenſe, and not literally: And maintains, that what is ſaid thereof in ſcripture, ſignifies only that deprivation of motion, and dreadful aſtoniſhment, that ſeizes a perſon, when overcome with ſurprize and horror, at ſome unexpected ſhocking and horrible action or ſight; ſo that, according to him, this metamorphoſis is not to be underſtood of a real tranſmutation into ſalt. In effect, however that be, I could find nothing extraordinary in this pretended figure of *Lot*'s wife. Being arrived within a day's journey of *Jeruſalem*, I diſpatched an expreſs to the *Baſſa* to acquaint him with my approach; whereupon, he immediately mounted on horſeback, and met me at the head of a conſiderable body of *Spahis*, with in three leagues of that once flouriſhing famous city. As ſoon as I perceived him, I cauſed my guard to draw up in battle array, and made them go through their exerciſe, and give him ſeveral volleys, whereat he was highly delighted: This done, I ordered my little camp to be pitched in the neighbourhood of the city, and only took with me *Juſtiniani*, the *Swiſs*, and the *Germans*. The *Baſſa* appointed me a magnificent lodging, and as he was no rigid obſerver of the *Alcoran*, we had plenty of exquiſite wines, which made me ſome compenſation for the abſtinence I had been obliged to upon the way.

It is hard to take a ſurvey of this city, without mourning the melancholy ſtate to which it is reduced: One only ſees now, within the walls, and in the parts adjacent, the ſad remains of its ancient

ſplendor. It is, in a manner, one uninterrupted heap of ruins, where all order and government is as much neglected as the buildings; the *Turks*, who are at a great diſtance from the *Porte*, behaving there more like tyrants than maſters; and the officers, wholly influenced by ſordid avarice, oppreſſing the *Chriſtians* with grievous impoſts, and diverſe other vexations.

I was deſirous of viſiting the pretended mount *Calvary*, ſo much reverenced in *Chriſtendom*; I ſay, the pretended mount *Calvary*, becauſe I am fully perſuaded the mountain, to which they now give this name, is not that whereon *Chriſt* ſuffered an ignominious death on the croſs; the real mount *Calvary* being without the walls of the city. Nay, the *Turks* themſelves are ſo well convinced of this *truth*, that they make a meer jeſt of the devotion paid by the *Chriſtians* to this place; which, otherwiſe, they would undoubtedly be far from doing, becauſe they have a great veneration for the legiſlator of the *Chriſtians*; and, notwithſtanding they believe he did not really ſuffer perſonally, but that it was only a phantom, ſubſtituted in his ſtead, which the *Jews* crucified, this infamous action has given them ſo great a diſlike to them, that they never look upon them but with horror.

They even oblige them, throughout their dominions, to wear ignominious marks of this horrible impiety; not allowing them to wear any but a black dreſs; a colour, which, with them, is a badge of infamy and diſgrace, and which they never oblige the vileſt of their ſlaves to wear, but as a puniſhment. It is certain therefore, that were they aſſured which is the real mount *Calvary*, they would pay abundance of reverence thereto.

However that be, nothing is there to be ſeen, which can demonſtrate this truth; nothing, in ſhort, that

hat can excite the devotion of a *Chriſtian*, who is never ſo little elevated above the prejudices of the vulgar. The extravagant concourſe of ſuch numbers of *Chriſtians*, divided into various ſects, and of diverſe opinions, cauſe too many diſorders, and too much confuſion there, to inſpire any one with ſentiments of piety; almoſt all of them prophaning this ſuppoſed holy place by a thouſand groſs and ridiculous ſuperſtitions, which look more like idolatry than real Chriſtianity.

It is true, as was obſerved before, the *Turks* only laugh at this over-ſtrained devotion; but, nevertheleſs, they take advantage of the credulity of theſe pilgrims, to draw immenſe ſums from them. It is ſcarce poſſible to obſerve the behaviour of the one and the other, without feeling a juſt indignation, and crying out, what cruel tyranny! what ſtrange devotion! Hardly could I have the patience to ſtay ſix days at *Jeruſalem*. Beſides my great impatience to be at *Conſtantinople*, I was ſo much ſcandalized at the wicked practices, both of the *Turks* and *Chriſtians*, that I could not poſſibly bear to continue any longer amongſt them.

I left this city then, but not without weeping over it, and made the beſt of my way to *Aleppo*; whoſe *Aga*, having daily expected me with abundance of impatience, was inexpreſſibly joyful, when he heard the news of my being arrived within a little of that place. Accordingly, he mounts his horſe, and comes full ſpeed to meet me without the city; and, as ſoon as he ſees me, he alights, takes me about the neck, embraces me, and bathes my face with his tears: In effect, we had long been ſincere friends, having known each other many years before my retiring into *Turkey*.

Scarce would he allow me one moment, to make a ſuitable return to all theſe marks of his affection;

here, ſaid he, with an eagerneſs, that teſtified an infinite ſatisfaction, read theſe letters, they will inform you of ſomewhat ſo agreeable, that I am afraid all your great courage will hardly be able to ſupport you under it. After which, without giving me yet time to open them, he gives me a circumſtantial account of all the misfortunes my ſpouſe had undergone; and this with ſuch an extraordinary tranſport, that I had all the difficulty imaginable to interrupt him, in order to aſk him ſome queſtions.

Nevertheleſs, when we were got to his houſe, he was obliged to leave me, to go and give ſome inſtructions about preparing for my reception; wherefore I laid hold on that opportunity to read my letters. That of my dear *Salviati* informed me of all her adventures, from the time of her quitting *Venice*, till her arrival in *Turkey*. The moving expreſſions ſhe made uſe of, to deſcribe the torments of abſence, affected me greatly. The other letters contained indiſputable proofs of her innocence, being thoſe of the two noble *Venetians* my friends.

The uncertainty, I had till then laboured under, concerning the calumnies of the infamous *Barnetti*, had not allowed me any manner of reſt; though, it is true, the letter of the *Kaimakan*, which I received at *Crac*, had ſomewhat appeaſed my ſorrows; nevertheleſs, my joy, hitherto, had been only imperfect. But the convincing proofs, contained in the letters of the illuſtrious *Venetians*, leaving no farther room for doubt, a too exceſſive joy ſucceeding all at once to my uncertainty, the lively tranſport cauſed ſo great a revolution in my ſenſes, that I was ſeized, almoſt that inſtant, with a very violent fever.

However, notwithſtanding an ugly ſhivering, with which I had been troubled for two hours, I had given orders for getting ready to ſet out about

ſun-ſet;

ſun-ſet; but was ſoon forced to deſiſt from this my intention: In ſhort, the fever increaſed upon me inſenſibly, and my ſtrength, already exhauſted, ſinks under it's vehemence; ſo that, at the time ſet for my departure, I was ſeized with ſuch a delirium, that had it not been for the *Chevalier Juſtiniani*, and the two *Swiſs*, I had thrown myſelf into a deep *Reſervoir*, that was under the windows of the chamber, prepared for my lodging.

This light-headed fit having laſted for near fourteen hours, I was ſo far ſpent, that I ſcarce ſhewed the leaſt ſigns of life; and, it is very certain, my preſervation was wholly owing to the care of my *Swiſs*, *Juſtiniani*, and the *Aga*, who never left me a moment, night or day, for above a fortnight: After this, I began daily to recover my ſtrength, which enabled me to appoint a time for my departure. During the interval, that I was upon the mending hand, I perſuaded the *Chevalier* to return to *Malta*, having made him ample amends for the loſſes he had undergone, ſince his leaving that iſland; (for, I am well aſſured, he was diſcharged, by my good offices, of above twenty thouſand *Chequins*, in money and valuable merchandize;) but he was poſitively determined upon accompanying me to *Conſtantinople*.

'The prodigious favours, ſaid he, with which 'you have, in a manner, overloaded me, can they 'ſuffer me to think of forſaking you? And eſpe- 'cially in the languiſhing ſtate wherein you now 'are? What! abandon ſo generous a friend, with- 'out ſeeing him ſafe home, and at a time 'when he may ſtand in need of aſſiſtance! No, 'no, my much to be loved Count, know *Juſtiniani* 'better. I will ſet out along with you, and be a 'witneſs of your happineſs; I will have the plea- 'ſure of again beholding that illuſtrious heroine, 'whoſe courage and virtue is ſo highly and ſo juſtly

'extolled; and I will partake of the ſatisfaction of your tender re-union, before I part with a friend and benefactor, for whom I would ſacrifice a thouſand lives, were ſo many in my power.' In ſhort, the *Chevalier* uttered theſe words with a tone ſo full of friendſhip, that I durſt no longer oppoſe his reſolution.

Scarce had I conſented to his intention, of attending me to *Conſtantinople*, when he took a trip to *Alexandria*, or *Scanderoon*, a ſea port, not far from *Aleppo*, on a deſign, to which I was then a ſtranger, but which I was ſoon informed of at his return: It was to redeem from ſlavery one of his friends, alſo a knight of *Malta*; who had been ſo unfortunate, about a year before, to fall into the hands of a cruel pirate, that had made himſelf maſter of his brigantine, by a ſtratagem, in the gulf of *Samos*, and had ſold him afterwards to an *Italian* renegade, who reſided at *Alexandretta*.

This young *Chevalier*, being informed by *Juſtiniani* that I was at *Aleppo*, came thither to pay his reſpects to me, and earneſtly intreated me, to allow him to attend me to *Conſtantinople*, that he might be enabled to return to *Malta* with his friend. Senſibly moved with my civility and manner of behaviour, he extolled highly the virtue and uncommon accompliſhments of my wife; told me, he had ſeen her at *Malta*; acquainted me with all the unworthy uſage ſhe had met with from the commander *D*———, as alſo with the extraordinary generoſity of the chevalier *de Sonvre*: But, purſued he, the unfortunate *de Sonvre* is in ſlavery at *Algiers*. His galley was taken by a corſair of that city, within eight days after his departure from *Canea*, whether he had conducted your illuſtrious lady; and, undoubtedly, his courage only gave way to ſuperior ſtrength. Nay, as it was, he had

had escaped, had it not been for a cannon ball, which took off his arm.

I must confess this news afflicted me greatly; I lamented, with all my heart, the misfortune of such uncommon merit, and resolved to deliver him from slavery. I flattered myself with the thought, that the *Sultan* would not deny me the favour, of demanding him of the republick of *Algiers*; nor was I deceived in my expectation. *Justiniani*, sensibly afflicted at the *Chevalier de Sauvre's* disaster, could not refrain his tears, being his intimate friend. He assured me, therefore, that if the *Sultan* granted my request, as he did not question but he would, he was resolved upon undertaking a voyage to *Algiers*, with the agent who was to carry the orders of the *Porte*. In effect, all these designs were put in execution successfully, within a little after, as will be observed in its place.

My retinue having prepared every thing for my departure, we set out for *Constantinople*, and marched almost without stopping to *Bursa*: I bathed eight days in this city, and this bathing restored me entirely to my health. The governor of *Aleppo* had sent an express to my wife, unknown to me, in order to acquaint her with my illness: I met this man, as he was coming back, at *Bursa*; and he informed me, that my dear *Salviati* was under terrible alarms; which induced me to proceed on my journey with the utmost diligence. I left, therefore, three parts of my convoy behind, in order to get the sooner to *Constantinople*; but, as soon as I arrived at the rising grounds, in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, I was seized, on a sudden, with a palpitation of the heart, which obliged me to dismount, and repose myself for almost two hours. At last, I arrive at *Scutari*, cross over in an instant to *Constantinople*; and the express, sent from *Aleppo*,

had so well informed me of the house where she lived, that I wanted not a guide, tho' it was then two in the morning.

Heavens! What joyful transports did I feel, when this dear wife, drowned in tears, ran into my arms! I leave my readers to judge of my satisfaction; and as this worthy woman has given a faithful account thereof, in the relation of her adventures, it would be entirely needless to repeat it. Besides, it would be altogether impossible, perfectly to describe the tender emotions whereof my heart was sensible on that happy hour; on that instant, I say, after which I had longed without ceasing for above five years.

Being at last arrived at the completion of my wishes, after having undergone the utmost torment of absence, I dedicated some hours to my tender love, and sent word to the *Sultan* of my arrival; whereupon *Achmet*, impatient to have some discourse with me, sent for me the next night at eleven o'clock. Scarce had he set eyes on me, when he cried out, I see thee then once again, *Bassa Bonneval*; and, at a time, when I am in a condition to give thee some tokens of my good will. After which, he entered into a long detail of the treasons of the *Aga* of the janizaries, and the *Sultana Validé*, and of the manner wherein he had been precipitated from the throne. He uttered these words in such a confusion and trouble, as made me sensible this incident had proved an irrecoverable shock to his health, and had quite discomposed the tranquillity of his mind.

This done, I gave him an account of my conduct, since my departure from the *Porte*; and as I had taken an exact journal thereof, he approved of it so much, that he would have it read in the *Divan*. Before his dismissing me, he told me, he had

had designed me the command of his army in *Persia*, and that he would appoint me a public audience in about a week; after which a *Divan* should be called to regulate my salary, which was to be considerably increased: but, pursued he, I will see thee again before thy public audience; after which he dismissed me.

After this private interview with the *Sultan*, I made several reflections; and these reflections were by no means to go into *Persia*, neither to be at all concerned in that war: my health was already too much impaired, and, besides, I could not again part so soon from this dear wife. The misfortunes she had already undergone, affected me too sensibly, to expose her afresh to new disasters; and to abandon her in a foreign country, where she had no manner of acquaintance.

As I had not yet seen the *Grand Vizier*, I durst not make a visit to the *Kaimakan*; for a man must behave himself with extreme circumspection at this court; neither is it allowed, when one arrives here, after having dispatched any affair of importance, to pay one's respects to any one, before an account has been given of one's conduct to the first minister. That dear friend, however, came to me *incognito* the third night after my arrival; his value for me inducing him to break thro' the rules of decorum. Our interview had somewhat in it very moving; for I must confess, excepting my dear *Salviati*, no one had so great a share in my affection as this generous governor: accordingly I acquainted him with what had passed between me and *Achmet*, and especially with the proposal he had made me of sending me to command his troops in *Persia*.

Have a great care, cried he, interrupting me with some vehemence, how you accept of this com-

commiſſion, or indeed of any employment whatever in this war; otherwiſe your ruin is inevitable. Our arms there will be unſucceſsful; and were you a ſecond *Hercules* or *Alexander*, you would miſcarry in all your undertakings; they would leave you in want of every thing that is moſt neceſſary; they would cauſe an inſurrection amongſt the ſoldiers; they would accuſe you of treaſon; and would make you anſwerable for all the misfortunes that happened.

Did not you perceive, that *Achmet*'s dethroning has quite impaired his health, and rendered him utterly unable to hold the reins of government? In a word, that he has almoſt finiſhed his courſe, and that the deſtinies only ſuffer him unwillingly to linger out a few more languiſhing days? The *Grand Vizier*, therefore, together with the *Seraskier*, and the *Boſtangi-Bachi*, have united together to engage him in this war, in order to make themſelves maſters of the whole adminiſtration of affairs. Their only view is to ſacrifice the troops, by finding them employment; they have received conſiderable preſents from *Perſia*; and, in ſhort, they betray the *Sultan*, in order to compaſs their ends.

I do not at all doubt, but theſe three officers, will propoſe the ſending you to command the forces; but be you ſure ſtedfaſtly to decline it. You may have many plauſible reaſons for exempting you from it; as your advanced age, your infirm ſtate of health, and your being altogether a ſtranger to the country; theſe I will ſecond to the utmoſt of my power; and will form a ſufficient party in your favour, to excuſe you from ſerving in the *Perſian* war.

Theſe arguments of the *Kaimaikan* were too ſtrong, and too conformable to my own inclinations, for me to refuſe agreeing therewith heartily; and in effect this prudent friend exerted himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that I was ſuffered to remain at home un-

gnomel ſted. It was therefore abſolutely without reaſon, that I am made to ſue for an employment in the army ſent againſt the *Perſians*. Nor was it either the jealouſy of the *Turkiſh* officers, nor yet the ſpeeches the author of the memoirs, falſly aſcribed to me, has put in their mouths, that rendered both my own ſolliciations, and thoſe of my friends, to procure me ſome command in this war ineffectual: on the contrary, it was a conſtant refuſal on my part, which I backed with the ſolid reaſons, ſuggeſted by the *Kaimakan*, when I appeared before the *Divan*.

I had given orders, the day after my arrival at *Conſtantinople*, for getting my houſe upon the ſide of the *Boſphorus* in readineſs. All my retinue were encamped, and lay in tents, in the neighbourhood of *Scutari*; wherefore I had all the ſoldiers incorporated amongſt the *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, diſcharged thoſe who were of no ſervice to me, and formed my houſhold of ſeventy men and women ſlaves, whereof I made the two *Swiſs*, and eight *Germans*, with whom I was perfectly well ſatisfied, the chief officers. This done, we retired to this charming ſolitude; taking with us *Juſtiniani*, and the other young knight his friend; who had lodged before with the *Baile* of *Venice*, becauſe there was no room for them in the houſe where my wife was. However, as ſoon as I returned to my own, I provided each of them an apartment.

Being then frequently in company with my ſpouſe, they acquainted her with the terrible misfortune, that had befallen the *Chevalier de Sowre*; upon hearing which melancholy news, the memory of that generous friend, and the ſevere hardſhips he then endured, drew a flood of tears from her eyes. Dear Count, ſaid ſhe, will you refuſe uſing your credit, to deliver from ſlavery a perſon to whom

I have so many obligations; and who had not met with these disasters, but for his desire of serving me? No; your heart is too noble, for you to refuse exerting yourself in favour of a man, who ought to be dear to me. I have already taken some steps towards his deliverance, answered I; the *Sultan* has promised me to send for that purpose to *Algiers*, and at the first private audience, I will press him upon that head, with all the earnestness you can desire. But I have a good thought come into my head: write you to the favourite *Sultana*, who has offered you her assistance, in order to her seconding me: accordingly, she did so forthwith, and it proved of great advantage.

In effect, the *Sultaness* interceeded with *Achmet* so prevalently, that he sent for me on the sixth night, and told me, after my public audience was over, he would dispatch two *Chiaoux*, with a couple of galleys, to *Algiers*; as was done accordingly, to the satisfaction of my dear *Salviati*. The two *Chevaliers*, overjoyed at this news, laid hold on this opportunity to go to *Malta*; I having given orders to the *Reis* of the galleys to touch there, and carry a considerable present, in my name, to the grand master, as an acknowledgment of his great civilities, and the effectual protection he had afforded my wife. Accordingly, they made the necessary preparations for their departure, but were first desirous of accompanying me to my public audience, the day for which was already fixed.

Every thing passed in the same manner, at this second audience, as at the first; only that I was attended by a numerous retinue, who came to meet me at *Scutari*. As soon as we had crossed the *Bosphorus*, a troop of *Spahis* began the cavalcade; after which followed the presents I had designed for the *Grand Seignior*; they consisted of the most valuable

luable and coſtly perfumes, ſpices, drugs, and balſams that *Arabia* afforded, together with twenty-eight moſt beautiful courſers of the ſame country; after which came the little alabaſter moſque, whoſe ſmall dome was embelliſhed with thirty fine jewels. The tomb of *Mahomet* was univerſally admired, and procured the carver the command of a troop of *Spahis*: and as a particular account was given in the journal drawn up by me, which was read before the *Divan*, of the bravery of the two *Swiſs*, and the ſeven *Germans*, they had employments aſſigned them in the body of *Janizaries*, together with an allowance of a thouſand aſpers a day to each of them.

The *Divan* alſo, after having highly extolled my conduct, increaſed my ſalary to fifty thouſand aſpers a day: beſides which a preſent was made me of thirty purſes, amounting to fifteen thouſand piaſtres, which were ſent me next day, with a horſe out of the ſtables of the *Seraglio*. It was not indeed one of the fineſt, but to make amends, the bridle and ſaddle were enriched with an infinite number of precious ſtones: the two knights of *Malta* alſo had each of them a noble veſt. There was not any propoſal made me at this audience, concerning the *Perſian* war; this was not done 'till three months afterwards: but, as I had before prepoſſeſſed the *Sultan* upon this head, and he had approved of my reaſons, he gave private orders to the *Vizier* to leave me at my liberty, ſo that he eſpouſed my intereſt on this occaſion, which rendered my party too ſtrong for the other.

After my public audience, I ſent ſeveral preſents to the *Grand Vizier*, and the other chief officers of the *Porte*: it may well be judged that the *Kaimakan* was not forgotten; but being fully perſuaded of his being entirely diſintereſted, and

that

that he preferred my friendſhip to every thing elſe; I ſent him only ſuch as were of no great value; in effect, it is a certain proof of a ſincere friendſhip, when one treats perſons in this manner.

My wife alſo, for her part, made ſome preſents to the favourite *Sultaneſs*, and ſome other ladies; ſo that all I had brought from *Arabia*, was in a manner ſwallowed up, within the ſpace of a fortnight: but this is the cuſtom in this country, preſents muſt circulate; otherwiſe a man ſoon loſes whatever credit and effects he has acquired.

The departure of *Juſtiniani*, which followed ſoon after this audience, afflicted me very ſenſibly; for he was a perfectly honeſt man, full of merit, and endued with fine accompliſhments: in ſhort, he had ſo much ſweetneſs of temper, and ſo many good qualities, in his conſtitution, that it had endeared him highly to me. Beſides, there is a certain age, when a man devotes himſelf more to his friends, than he did in his youthful days; we muſt not ſay, *if any friends there are*, for it is certain there are, and that a great number; but what makes them to be believed ſo ſcarce, is the general complaint that is made of them, and this very often is ill-grounded. If I ſpeak here ſome things to my own advantage, it is not through a ſpirit of vanity; but I am ſo great a lover of truth, that ſometimes I do it at the expence of my modeſty.

Two days after the *Chevaliers* had left *Conſtantinople*, I had again another longer conference with his highneſs, wherein he gave me ſenſible proofs, how far his kindneſs for me had extended. He informed me therein, that as ſoon as my wife had arrived at the *Porte*, he had cauſed it to be ſignified to the republick of *Venice*, that he expected they would do me juſtice upon *Barnetti*, for his outrages and infamous calumnies; and that anſwer had been

ſent

ſent to the embaſſador, that all his effects had been confiſcated, beſides his having been ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment; as alſo, that this wretch and his wife having embarked for *Sicily*, the veſſel wherein they were was taken by an *Algerine* corſair, and that he had ordered the *Chiaoux* to ſearch them out, and bring them to *Conſtantinople*, to the end they might be delivered into *my* hands, and rigorouſly puniſhed.

I muſt confeſs, I was quite confounded at this ſingular mark of regard in the complaiſant *Achmet*; in effect, it is impoſſible to read a circumſtance of this nature, without making ſerious reflections upon a kindneſs ſo extraordinary; but, alas! all this favour vaniſhed with the life of that gracious emperor, and that of my illuſtrious friend the *Kaimakan*. As theſe melancholy events, however, did not come to paſs as yet, I ſhall forbear giving an account thereof as long as it is poſſible; but to return from whence I have digreſſed: ſuch was the ſituation of my affairs, 'till towards the end of the year 1729.

Mean while, I led a pretty idle, though a very quiet life; for as ſoon as I had received, and returned thoſe viſits, to which decency obliged me, I kept retired within my ſolitude, juſt as I did before my going to *Arabia*; and never went out but on indiſpenſible occaſions: but then I had almoſt every day at home a ſet of company ſufficiently numerous, to prevent my retirement from becoming loneſome and tedious.

I am by no means of the opinion of thoſe, who affirm that old age and pleaſure are altogether inconſiſtent; I believe them greatly miſtaken: there are pleaſures of ſeveral kinds; and that which I have enjoyed, ſince my re-union with my wife, is more ſolid than thoſe of my youth, tho' it is leſs tumultuous,

tumultuous, and leſs full of extravagancies; in ſhort, I find it was not without good reaſon, that an ancient philoſopher tells us, diſcretion is a neceſſary qualification to render a man capable of a true enjoyment of pleaſure. There are delights to be found in a retired life, that are not to be met with in the hurry and tumults of war; and when we are arrived at a knowledge of the intrigues and miſeries of a court, if we do but compare them ever ſo little, with the ſweets and charms of retirement, we are then in a way to be as happy as we can be in this world.

However, notwithſtanding a number of people, who viſited me every day, my wife led but a melancholy life; the faſhion does not allow of introducing women into the company of men, in the *Turkiſh* dominions; and beſides their ceremonies are not at all agreeable to the ladies of *Chriſtendom*, by reaſon of their continual cuſtom of ſmoaking tobacco, which is in a manner the firſt part of all their entertainments, after the compliment of eſſences and perfumes.

No *Franks* frequented my houſe, but one or two *Jeſuits*, ſome few *Capuchins*, and one proteſtant miniſter, a very honeſt gentleman: but my dear *Salviati* was highly prejudiced againſt all eccleſiaſticks in general, and eſpecially againſt the diſciples of *Loyola*, who are looked upon in the *Venetian* territories, as a pernicious ſet of people, with whom one cannot held any correſpondence, without expoſing one's ſelf to a thouſand troubles and vexations. In effect, I always ſaw ſhe was infinitely uneaſy, whenever ſhe was obliged to enter into any converſation with them, which induced me not to lay any conſtraint upon her in this reſpect.

The *Turkiſh* ladies alſo ſeemed to her quite intolerable; and, in ſhort, it muſt be very hard for a virtuous

virtuous perſon, bred up in *Chriſtendom*, and after a certain manner, to accuſtom herſelf to their formal and ſtarched appearance, and their wanton and looſe ways. As to the wives of the *Franks*, not only they are moſt of them guilty of the ſame extravagancies, but they are likewiſe ſo ridiculouſly proud and vain, that it renders them extremely diſagreeable and contemptible.

There is not one of them, but what pretends to be of an ancient family, tho' married to a meer mechanic, or a ſhopkeeper; unforeſeen misfortunes (if you will believe them) obliged their anceſtors to take refuge at *Conſtantinople*, and apply themſelves to trades: this is the language of ſome of them. Others again inveigh, like perſons poſſeſſed, againſt the perſecution of the proteſtant religion in *France*; and affirm that, otherwiſe, inſtead of being the wives of goldſmiths or watchmakers, they ſhould have been counteſſes, marchioneſſes or dutcheſſes.

My dear *Salviati* had too much wit and good ſenſe, to be able to bear ſuch extravagancies; accordingly, ſhe ridiculed ſome of them; upon which they all railed at her without meaſure, and would no longer vouchſafe to honour her with their viſits; whereat I was overjoyed, and my wife delighted: there was not therefore any one, excepting the *French Renegade*, with whom ſhe ever paſſed any agreeable moments. This man, as has been already obſerved, was endued with a fine and ſubtle genius, and improved by much reading; and it may well be believed, that my ſpouſe, who may be called a woman of learning, preferred his company to that of the women of this country.

It was thus then that ſhe paſſed the eight firſt months of her reſidence in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, and then there arrived ſome company that ſhe liked: my readers judge already it was that

of the *Chevalier de Souvre*, and they partly gueſs right, but that of *Signora Barnetti* was no leſs welcome to her. She was perfectly well acquainted with her; they were both born in the ſame country; and my wife had great obligations to her; having been ſkreened from the infamous attempts of her huſband, not only by her remonſtrances, but by her contriving and favouring her eſcape privately from *Venice*.

It may not be amiſs here, to enter into the particulars relating to the arrival of theſe perſons. Already had the two *Turkiſh* galleys been ſet out five months for *Malta* and *Algiers*, and *Juſtiniani*, to whom the two *Reis* at my recommendations had given the command of them, being too impatient to break the chains of his friend the *Chevalier de Souvré*, not being willing to ſtop at *Malta*, had made them ſteer directly for *Algiers*. As ſoon as he had caſt anchor within the harbour of that city, he beſtirred himſelf ſo effectually, that at laſt he found out that unfortunate gentleman; and certain it is, had it not been for his diligence and care, the *Bey* of *Algiers* would not have been able to have recovered him, notwithſtanding he had given the ſtricteſt orders for that purpoſe.

This unhappy *Chevalier* had fallen into the hands of a renegade of *Provence*, and the very vileſt profligate of all that ſet of miſcreants, which is ſaying all that words can expreſs, to give a right notion of this wretch. He happened to be perfectly well acquainted with the *Chevalier* and his family; being perſuaded therefore, that his relations were vaſtly rich, he would not grant him his liberty, at a jot leſs than twenty thouſand piſtoles. Already had he been offered fifteen thouſand chequins, a moſt exorbitant ſum! but the renegade continued obſtinately bent to take no leſs; and in the mean while

while treated the unfortunate *de Souvre* with the utmoſt inhumanity.

No ſooner then had this wretch heard the proclamation of the *Bey*, with his orders to deliver up immediately this ſlave, on pain of death, and without ranſom, for whom he had refuſed ſo conſiderable a price, than he flew into the moſt dreadful rage, and was perfectly deſperate. After uſing him with the greateſt indignity, he cauſed him to be removed beyond the mountains, to ſome *Moors* of his acquaintance, and as wicked as himſelf. A *Jew* diſcovered his place of concealment by chance, happening to go and traffick with theſe *Moors*, who dealt in cattle: and as *Juſtiniani* had cauſed it to be publiſhed by the common cryer, that he would pay the ſum of two hundred chequins, to whoever ſhould give information where he was ſecured, this *Jew* ſecretly brought him intelligence thereof. *Juſtiniani*, overjoyed at this agreeable diſcovery, flew immediately to the two *Chiaoux*, and acquainted them with it; whereupon they obtained orders directly to ſeize on the renegade, who underwent a ſevere baſtinado, without owning he had the *Chevalier* in his poſſeſſion.

This his obſtinacy aſtoniſhed the *Bey*, who inſtantly ſent for the *Jew*, and gave him inſtructions to ſet out for the place he had mentioned, at the head of fifty men, in queſt of the unfortunate gentleman: Accordingly he did, and they found there the wretched *Chevalier*, almoſt naked, and employed in plowing the ground, though he had but one arm. They acquaint him immediately with his deliverance, and bring him along with them to *Algiers*; where *Juſtiniani* having aſſured the *Bey*, he was the perſon ſought for, and for whom the *Sultan* had ſent his gallies, he was delivered into the hands of the *Chiaoux*, and the renegade was

ſtrangled upon the ſpot, to give a convincing proof of the ſubmiſſion of that ſtate, to the orders of the *Sublime Porte*. As to Signior *Barnetti* and his wife, they were already on board the gallies, neither had it coſt any pains to recover thoſe two perſons.

As ſoon as *de Souvré* had ſet his eyes on *Juſtiniani*, he was tranſported with an inexpreſſible joy; he had been ignorant till then, to whom he owed his deliverance: the emiſſaries of the *Porte*, tho' they had freed him from his chains, ſeemed to him of an ill aſpect, and he could not conceive, what ſhould induce his highneſs to concern himſelf any ways about what related to him; this myſtery therefore which appeared to him impenetrable, rendered his joy but imperfect; however, as ſoon as he beheld his friend, all his fears vaniſhed: ah! dear *Juſtiniani*, cryed he, I expected no leſs from your generoſity; but by what good luck, by what happy turn of fortune, have I the pleaſure of viewing you once again? they aſſured me, that you alſo was fallen into the hands of the *Turks*.

After the firſt tranſports of their mutual joy were over, *Juſtiniani* acquainted him to whom he was indebted both for his own liberty and his. Ah! dear counteſs, cryed then the *Chevalier de Souvré*, I forget all my paſt misfortunes, ſince it is your liberal hand that unlooſes my chains. I ſhall ſee you then once more; and my heart did not deceive me, when it always flattered me with this pleaſing thought, notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate to which I was reduced, and notwithſtanding my being almoſt paſt hopes, which made me ſometimes look upon it as a mere idle dream.

This affair being happily diſpatched, the two gallies again put out to ſea, and ſailed for *Malta*, both in order to deliver to the grand maſter the preſents I had ſent him, together with the letter of my

my dear ſpouſe, and to ſet the three knights aſhore there.

The grand maſter, ſenſibly touched with my generoſity, and my unexpected behaviour to the three knights, ſummoned a chapter to meet, where they gave me infinite commendations. The two *Reis*, who commanded the galleys, had rich preſents made them, as had alſo the two *Chiaoux*, and the poor ſlaves had money and refreſhments in abundance beſtowed upon them. Nor was this all; the chapter of the order reſolved to ſend the *Sultan* twenty ſlaves, who were then at *Malta*, and to preſent my wife to the value of above a hundred thouſand crowns in jewels. This commiſſion was aſſigned by the grand maſter to the *Chevalier de Souvré*, who had earneſtly deſired leave of him to go to *Conſtantinople*, only to give me ſome teſtimonies of his acknowledgment: and as he was very much beloved by the grand maſter, and generally eſteemed throughout the order, they conferred on him the title of envoy extraordinary from the chapter of the order of *St. John* to the *Ottoman Porte*, and promoted him to the dignity of a commander, giving him the badge of the *Great Croſs*. He had a very proſperous voyage, and arrived ſafe at *Conſtantinople* within ſeven weeks after his departure from *Malta*.

Theſe circumſtances will undoubtedly ſeem ſuſpicious to many people. *What!* will they cry out, *a grand maſter* of the order of *St. John*, engage in *a friendly intercourſe* with the *Turks!* an *Ottoman emperor* ſend *two gallies expreſsly* to *deliver from ſlavery* one of the *knights* of *an order*, which is *abhorred* by all the *muſſelmen*, and whoſe *utter extermination* they *ardently* and *continually long for!* This is indeed an *extraordinary phenomenon*, and *altogether new* and *ſurprizing!* it is one of *thoſe*

miracles of the *Abbe Paris*, which cannot *be believed*, without *ſhocking common ſenſe!* no; it can *never be credited*, if we reflect *ever ſo little* upon that *implacable hatred*, which has *always ſubſiſted* between theſe *two powers*, at *all times*, and that without the leaſt *intermiſſion*.

Here the ſpeculative critick will frame many conjectures, which will prove by no means favourable to that ſincerity and truth, which I have valued all my life. Nevertheleſs, as this is a matter of fact that is certain, and known to many people, and as it has done me infinite honour, I thought myſelf obliged to relate it as it is, in order to eradicate from the minds of my enemies thoſe diſhonourable thoughts of me, with which the author of the memoirs, falſly aſcribed to me, may have prepoſſeſſed the too credulous public. I deſire no other proofs of this occurrence, than the letters of the grand maſter of *Malta*, which I carefully keep, and can readily produce, without fear of their proving prejudicial to my reputation.

To return from whence I have digreſſed; the arrival of the *Chevaler de Souvré* gave me as much pleaſure as it did my dear wife; and it would be difficult to tell, which of us there felt the moſt ſatisfaction: we talked and we wept all at once, and this confuſion had ſomewhat in it ſo moving, as it is impoſſible to expreſs. *Barnetti* and his ſpouſe, who were the only witneſſes of this interview, burſt alſo into tears, and could not refrain them; but the tears of theſe two perſons proceeded from very different motives; thoſe of the huſband were only owing to rage, confuſion and deſpair; whereas thoſe of his virtuous wife were the effect of that friendſhip and love ſhe bore to my ſpouſe; accordingly I diſtinguiſhed perfectly well what difference there was between them.

I had only cauſed theſe two to be brought to me, in order to deliver them up to my dear *Salviati*; but I was fully perſuaded that generous woman, far from retaining in her breaſt any deſire of being revenged upon this profligate, had no other intent than to do him ſervice. In effect, ſhe treated him more like a friend than an enemy; gave him her hand courteouſly; and never ſpoke a word to him of his unworthy behaviour; which behaviour nevertheleſs, had expoſed her to a number of grievous afflictions. On the contrary, ſhe ſaid a thouſand tender things to him, both with deſign to comfort him for the loſs of his ſubſtance, and to induce him to repentance.

But as it is ſcarce poſſible ſo to tame a tyger, however kindly he is uſed, but that he will ſtill diſcover ſome marks of his innate cruelty, all the good offices we laviſhed upon this ſavage, ſerved only to increaſe the unjuſt hatred he had conceived againſt me; and it is very certain, had it not been for the *Chevalier de Souvré*, I ſhould have fallen a ſacrifice to his wicked heart, as will be ſeen very ſoon. As to his wife, my dear *Salviati* kept her with her, as a faithful companion; fully convinced of her virtue, ſhe vowed to her from that moment an eternal friendſhip; which friendſhip, inſtead of diminiſhing, increaſes every day; ſo that there is great likelihood nothing but death will be ever able to part them. But let us now relate in order all that befel me, until the death of the *Sultan Achmet*.

After having allotted two or three days to friendſhip, I cauſed notice to be given to his highneſs of the return of his galleys; of the good ſucceſs of the *Chiaoux*; and of the commiſſion aſſigned by the grand maſter of *Malta*, to the *Chevalier de Souvré*. Two days after he gave me orders to bring him to

a private audience; for they never grant a public audience at the *Porte* to theſe profeſſed enemie of the *Mahometans*; they only appointed him a certain number of aſpers a day for his maintenance.

I can again aver, that the emperor beheld the *Chevalier* with pleaſure; not as embaſſador of the order, but as a generous friend, to whom my wife had many and great obligations. Accordingly, he received him very graciouſly; praiſed highly his wiſdom and goodneſs, in protecting innocence when oppreſſed; accepted kindly of the grand maſter's preſents, and then diſmiſſed him; after giving me orders, to have a ſtrict ſearch made amongſt the ſlaves of all nations, with an aſſurance he would grant liberty to all the *Maltezi*, that ſhould be found at *Conſtantinople*; but we could diſcover no more than ſix.

Next morning he ſent to the *Chevalier* a very rich veſt; a robe coſtly lined with fine ſables; and a noble ſcymeter, whoſe hilt was embelliſhed with precious ſtones of diverſe colours, and of great beauty and value. After this ſolemnity, we conſidered about ridding ourſelves of *Barnetti*; I had already obtained his liberty of the *Sultan*; and as his wife obſtinately refuſed to go with him, reproaching him with all the ill uſage ſhe had met with from him, I ordered two good ſuits of clothes, with four thouſand chequins, to be given to that wretch, to enable him to apply himſelf again to trade, and to raiſe his fortune, which his crimes had entirely ruined. He aſſured me when he departed, he would go to *Smyrna*, and endeavour to make himſelf eaſy in his circumſtances.

When one has been in the wrong, ſaid I, frequently to his ſpouſe, who blamed me for acting with too much generoſity to her huſband; when

one has been in the wrong, and owns it ingenuouſly, one is ſcarce any longer ſo; but when this ſincerity, which is the ſign of a penitent mind, is attended with frequent relapſes, it loſes at laſt all it's merit. Sincere repentance leaves no means untryed to correct vicious propenſities, and make ſatisfaction for what is paſt; now time will ſhew us, whether your huſband is really ſorry for his crimes; but I found ſoon his repentance was very far from being true.

Ingratitude has ever appeared to me the moſt odious vice in ſociety; it may be judged, by what has been related, that being abſolute maſter of the life of this miſcreant, I might have ſacrificed him to my juſt reſentment; nevertheleſs, far from giving way to revenge, not only I pardon him with uncommon generoſity, but alſo ſupply him with the means to extricate himſelf from that miſery, unto which his own villainous actions had reduced him. Alas! what was the recompence this ſavage monſter had deſigned for me. It is difficult to relate it, without being moved to indignation.

Already ſix months were elapſed ſince his departure from my houſe, and his pretended ſetting out for *Smyrna*; and I no longer had the leaſt thought of *Barnetti*, when the *Chevalier de Souvré* acquainted me with abundance of uneaſineſs, that a *Jew* of *Conſtantinople* had aſſured him this man had been for above two months at *Scutari*, and he was almoſt certain he was concerting ſome fatal undertaking againſt my life. His own ſpouſe and mine, who knew but too well his diabolical malice and perverſeneſs, were extraordinarily alarmed thereat; and as for my own part, though I was not at all afraid of being attacked like a brave man, (for beſides that I never went out without a train of twenty or thirty domeſtics, I found I had

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ſtill ſufficient courage and ſtrength to repel his aſſaults) yet I was not ſecure from perfidy and treachery: fortunately for us all, the *Chevalier de Souvré*, who was much more uneaſy than I upon this head, bethought himſelf of ſearching all about my houſe, without acquainting me therewith.

Accordingly, one night having gone down into the cellars, I know not upon what pretence, he heard a hollow noiſe, as of people digging under ground; whereupon having liſtened with great attention, he found they were undermining my court-yard, and the very apartment where I lay. Without ſaying therefore a word to me, he takes twenty of my domeſticks, whom he arms with piſtols and poniards, goes out without noiſe at the head of this party, and carefully examines with dark lanthorns all the parts adjoining to the court-yard. After an hour's fruitleſs ſearch, he diſcovers a ſmall opening in the ſide of a hill, which ſeems newly made.

Upon this he ſends in two of my ſervants, who at their return aſſure him, there are people therein; leaving then ſix of them at the mouth of the cave, he goes himſelf with the reſt to the bottom of this ſubterraneous cell; which was already above a hundred feet deep, and almoſt reached acroſs the whole court. There he finds ſix men, who were working with ſo much diligence, that my domeſticks killed four, before they perceived them, and one of theſe four was the wicked *Barnetti:* this done, they ſeize the two others, and bring them to me, juſt as I grew very uneaſy about the *Chevalier*, not knowing for what reaſon he was gone out.

Theſe two wretches, terrified to find themſelves in my power, confeſſed *Barnetti* had engaged them by a large reward, to undermine my houſe; which

which done, he had prepared eight barrels of powder to blow me up; and this diabolical ſcheme was to have been put in execution within four days: they added alſo, that they had been at work at this ſubterraneous cavern for near three months.

I muſt acknowledge here, that all my reſolution forſook me at this inſtant; and I was at a loſs to conceive how far ingratitude and villainy may extend; as for the unfortunate *Signiora Barnetti*, ſhe was ſo much affected with this new infamy, that ſhe fell into a ſwoon, which laſted above two hours, and was followed by a dangerous and long fit of ſickneſs: in ſhort, we paſſed the whole night in an inconceivable affliction; and my dear *Salviati* was above a month before ſhe could recover her former tranquillity.

Next morning I cauſed the two wretches, who had been taken alive, to be delivered up to the *Cadi*, who had them impaled ſome days afterwards: I had ordered my men to take up the body of the monſter himſelf, and made them throw it into the canal, in order to ſpare his wife, already at the laſt gaſp, the freſh diſgrace ſhe muſt have undergone; for the other three bodies were alſo impaled, and expoſed upon the ſtake for above a fortnight. Behold, what was my reward, for having ſaved the life of this miſcreant, and loaded him with benefits!

Two or three months after the *Chevalier de Souvré* had diſcovered the horrible villainy of *Barnetti*, he began to prepare for his return to *Malta*; the very thought alone of which ſeparation, rendered us all extremely melancholy, and diſturbed all our pleaſures. Nevertheleſs his departure could not longer be deferred, the grand maſter, who had abſolutely need of him for an important negotiation, having recalled him. My wife, who had an infi-

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nite eſteem for him, and not without juſt reaſon, had been ſo overjoyed at ſeeing him again, that ſhe had never ſpoken a word to him of the misfortunes he had undergone at *Algiers*; ſhe was deſirous therefore now of knowing them, and it was neceſſary to ſatisfy her; accordingly he gave us the following account of them.

Scarce had I got thirty leagues from the iſle of *Candia*, when I diſcovered a large veſſel, which uſed its utmoſt endeavours to get to windward of me, upon which I imagined it immediately to be an *Algerine*; wherefore, after having made ready for an engagement, I crowded all our ſails, but could not come up with her till next morning: mean while I ordered lanthorns to be hung out at my topmaſts, that ſhe might be enabled to follow me, if ſhe deſigned to fight me. As ſoon as the dawn had began to diſperſe the ſhades of night, I ſaw the corſair at about a league's diſtance from me, and as I had regained the wind, it would have been eaſy for me to have ſhunned engaging.

It was a veſſel of ſeventy guns, and above ſix hundred men; I was much inferior thereto in ſtrength, nevertheleſs I had a mind to attempt making myſelf maſter thereof; but ſhe avoided letting me board her with ſo much addreſs, that all my efforts for that purpoſe were in vain. In the mean time a cannon-ſhot having carried away one of my yards, I got hold of a rope to keep it from falling upon me; at that very inſtant, another ſhot takes off my left arm, and throws me upon the deck almoſt lifeleſs: this misfortune rendering me incapable of iſſuing out orders, the corſair ſoon became maſter of my galley.

The captain of this veſſel, who was a renegade of *Provence*, had me carried into his cabbin, and knew me again, though I was weltering in my blood: he

he had ſeen me ſeveral times at *Malta*, when he was put in as maſter of a ſmall veſſel, by a merchant of *Marſeilles*; and I had even employed him in two voyages, about ſome commiſſions for my own family. Happening afterwards to miſcarry in his affairs, and being even accuſed of ſeveral rogueries, he was forced to take refuge at *Algiers*, to avoid being ſeverely proſecuted; there he renounced chriſtianity; and as he was known to be a good ſailor, they intruſted him with the command of the ſhip, on board whereof he then was.

To return from this digreſſion; *Maillard*, for ſo was this renegade called, took abundance of care of my wound; imagining, and not without ſome reaſon, that a man of my rank would not continue long in ſlavery, and that he might get more for my ranſom, than for that of a hundred others; accordingly, he uſed his utmoſt efforts to have me for his ſhare. As ſoon as he had me in his poſſeſſion, he carried me to his own houſe, and gave orders to his ſlaves and wives to obey me as himſelf: ſo much generoſity at firſt moved me; nevertheleſs, after ſome little reflection, it created in me a miſtruſt, that all this regard and attendance was the mercenary product of ſelf-intereſt and avarice; nor was I miſtaken in my conjectures.

In effect, when he ſaw my ſtrength began to return, he propoſed to me to inform my relations of my misfortune; but to let them know at the ſame time, that he would not releaſe me under twenty thouſand *louis d'ors*. You are generous, ſaid he, and I am not rich. I judged right, ſaid I, interrupting him with precipitation, and inflamed with anger, I read your ſordid avarice, in your officious care to recover me. You are in the right, *Maillard*, in calling me generous, I value myſelf upon ſo being; I adviſe you to follow my example; and if you

you will not hearken to my counſel, I ſhall find the way to teach you what generoſity is.

The renegade returned no anſwer to theſe words, as if they had made no impreſſion on him; but the more moderate his anger was, the more it ſeemed to me to be apprehended, and I conceived that it forboded me ſomewhat very bad. In effect, he goes directly away, without uttering a ſyllable, to the conſul of *France*, who had already cauſed him to be ſounded about my redemption. The conſul was ſo much exaſperated at the exorbitant ſum he would have extorted, that he treated him like a ſcoundrel; upon which he returns ſtrait home, has me heavily fettered, and drags me into a cellar full of filth; ordering me only ſix ounces of black bread and water for my daily allowance; which done, he ſets out again on a cruize.

So cruel and baſe a treatment moved one of his wives, who was a *French* woman, and whom he had taken as he was going to *Smyrna*. This virtuous perſon, who was alſo acquainted with my family, found the means, notwithſtanding the vigilance of his ſlaves, to get by night as far as my cellar; where ſhe brought me ſome refreſhments, together with a file to file off my irons. At the ſame time, ſhe entertained me with ſo moving an account of the melancholy ſtate to which ſhe was reduced, and ſo earneſtly conjured me to take her along with me, that I could not refuſe her. This being then agreed on, ſhe brought me every night ſome wine and wholeſome food; by the help of which, at a month's end, I found myſelf ſtrong enough to attempt my eſcape with her.

We left this deteſtable houſe therefore one night, and made the beſt of our way, 'till day began to break; when, for fear of being ſurprized, we entered a cave, fully reſolved to purſue our journey

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next night, and to continue it with the ſame precaution, 'till we ſhould get to *Tunis*. But ill luck followed us; or rather, fortune, adorable counteſs, would not ſuffer me to owe my liberty to any thing but your generous friendſhip. In effect, the day after our flight the renegade returns, comes directly home, and hears that we are gone away; upon which mounting his horſe that inſtant, at the head of five or ſix ſlaves, he purſues after us, and finds us in a little wood, where we were repoſing ourſelves.

His rage and fury ſeemed to me horrible and deviliſh; in a word, having firſt ordered me to be ſeized, he in a moment plunged his poniard into the breaſt of my unfortunate companion: ſo cruel an action tranſporting me with indignation, I diſengaged myſelf from the hands of one of his ſlaves, and ſeizing on his ſabre, diſcharged ſo home a ſtroke upon the head of the ſavage *Maillard*, that I ſent him with a vengeance to the ground, but the monſter recovered again, heaven not ſuffering him to die ſo glorioufly; and he commanded me for the future to be treated like the vileſt of wretches. In ſhort, the conſul of *France*, being informed of the dreadful hardſhips I ſuffered, had already cauſed an offer to be made him of fifteen thouſand chequins, and was at laſt determined to give him the twenty thouſand piſtoles, rather than let me languiſh any longer under his tyranny, when the galleys of the *Porte* arrived at *Algiers*, and not only reſtored me, in ſpite of him, to liberty, ranſomleſs, but proved the means of bringing that wretch to the end he had ſo long deſerved. Theſe, madam, are my adventures, ſince my departure from you in the iſle of *Candia*.

Some days after the *Chevalier* had given us this account, he vaniſhed from us on a ſudden; an exceſs

ceſs of tenderneſs incited him to this procedure; he foreſaw our parting would coſt us very dear, and was willing not only to ſpare our tears, but to avoid accepting ſome preſents he knew we had prepared for him. He went therefore to the *Dardanelles*, to wait there for the galley, which was to carry him to *Malta*; and wrote us a letter from thence, to prevent us from being uneaſy, whereby we alſo found the other reaſons which had induced him to behave in this manner. We could not help giving ſome tears to the remembrance of ſo generous a friend; however, by little and little, we recovered our former tranquility.

The war againſt the *Perſians* already excited great murmurs in the *Divan*, and amongſt the populace; but it created no uneaſineſs in me, who was not a ſtranger to the ſource of it. The *Sultan* himſelf was fully convinced his arms there would not be ſucceſsful; it had began only through a principle of intereſt, namely to oblige *Thamas Kouli Kan* to become tributary to the *Ottoman Porte*. We were convinced he would make peace, whenever it was thought proper; nothing more was wanting to induce him thereto, but to acknowledge him as ſovereign of *Perſia*, and to deſiſt from our other pretenſions, which were of no conſequence. This uſurper was ſenſible enough to know, that notwithſtanding all his victories, it would be impoſſible for him long to ſupport his fortune againſt the *Turks*. Beſides, he was perfectly well apprized, that the *Grand Vizier*, the *Seraskier*, and the *Boſtangi Bachi*, three venal ſouls, only countenanced the *Sophi*, becauſe they received immenſe ſums of that unhappy prince and his partizans; and that this exhauſted *Perſia* on one hand, whilſt he reduced her to the laſt gaſp on the other; this he knew very well, nor was the *Sultan*

tan ignorant thereof; ſo that all *Kouli Kan*'s conqueſt gave him no great umbrage.

In effect, his highneſs was fully acquainted with the intrigues of his three principal officers; but two reaſons prevented his applying any remedy thereto: the firſt and chief was the precarious ſtate of his own authority; the ſecond, that his troops, being employed in *Perſia*, and humbled by the ſucceſs of *Kouli Kan*, would not be able to engage in any inſurrection: wherefore this war was ſuffered to go on through policy and fear.

But as ſoon as the *Muſcovites* had broken the treaties they concluded in an abrupt manner, and altogether contrary to the law of nations, a way was ſoon found to terminate the *Perſian* war; nevertheleſs the *Turks* were in no hurry about it. It was neceſſary to let the *Muſcovites* go on a little in their career, before proper meaſures were concerted to make them repent of their perfidious behaviour.

Already had they rendered themſelves maſters of *Aſoph*, and made diverſe incurſions upon the banks of the *Boryſthenes*, without any courſe being taken to oppoſe them; when the *Sultan*, whoſe ſtrength began to fail him, had a fancy to remove to *Adrianople*, to try whether the air of that city would recover his health. I was named one of his retinue; and from *Adrianople* I made a trip towards *Aſoph*, but without any commiſſion, and only to examine the countenance of the enemy; ſo that I ſtaid but eight days in the neighbourhood of the *Boryſthenes*, and returned without delay to *Adrianople*. In effect, I found theſe new enemies would never be able to make any great conqueſts; wherefore I was in no hurry to obtain any employment in the army that was forming, foreſeeing there would be quickly a new reign; nor was I miſtaken in my conjecture.

At my departure from *Conſtantinople*, I had left the *Kaimakan* ſick: this illneſs appeared to me ominous; and my heart foretold me, I was on the point of loſing this tender friend, and embraced him then for the laſt time; accordingly I was informed of his death, at my return to the frontiers. Never did any event affect me more than this news; he was ſtill ſtrong and vigorous, and juſt upon being advanced to the dignity of *Grand Vizier*; the *Sultan* having determined to depoſe him, who was then poſſeſſed thereof.

He was immenſely rich, but owed his wealth to his virtue; never was there a more generous ſoul, united to a more amiable diſpoſition; but the greateſt of all commendations, was, that the people lamented his loſs, and every one bewailed his death, as he would have done that of a friend or benefactor. For my own part, I was deprived of a tender and ſincere friend; he knew me to be an honeſt man, and loved me accordingly: he was endued with great honour, magnanimity, wiſdom, and modeſty; and never was guilty of a fault, amidſt all the quick-ſands of a court, and the duties he was bound to by his employment.

I muſt confeſs, his death induced me to think in earneſt upon the other world; nevertheleſs, it is good to take courage, in order to have the command of our ſenſes; however, I had recourſe to the impreſſion his deceaſe made upon my ſpirits, as to a more ſalutary remedy, to incite me to walk more upright, and to think of preparing myſelf to appear before the ſupreme being. I was formerly prodigal of my life, but I reſolved from that inſtant to be careful of it; and am at preſent convinced, the greateſt pleaſure there is in this world, is to live.

Some time after the journey to *Adrianople*, *Kouli Kan* ſent an ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to con-

clude a peace. This uſurper was acknowledged by the *Ottoman Porte*, as *Sophi* of *Perſia*, and the places taken on both ſides were reſtored. He alſo promiſed to unite his forces with ours, in order to make the *Muſcovites* ſenſible of the irregularity of their conduct. *Muſtapha Azem* (that was the name of *Thamas Kouli Kan*'s embaſſador) had inſtructions to viſit me, and to make me ſome propoſals, to engage me in his maſter's ſervice. I was abſolutely a ſtranger to this his deſign, wherefore, on his demanding an interview with me one day, I granted it, without foreſeeing the conſequences. He then delivered me a letter from *Thamas Kouli Kan*, containing as follows:

The moſt high and moſt powerful THAMAS KOULI KAN, *Emperor of the* Perſians, *to the illuſtrious and invincible* Baſſa Bonneval.

" FOrtune, which has raiſed me from a very mean " condition to the throne of *Perſia*, has not " blinded me ſo much as to addreſs myſelf to you in " the ſtyle of a ſovereign: I ſtoop therefore to a leſs " elevated ſtate, to aſſure you, I am entirely deter- " mined to ſhare my fortune, my glory, and my " power with you, if you will accept of a ſanctuary " in my empire. I have need of your heroic cou- " rage to ſupport me, and of your ſkill, not only to " enable me to wage war ſucceſsfully, but to inſtruct " my troops in the military art. You ſhall find I " have a *French* heart. Born upon the confines of " that flouriſhing kingdom, I have retained the " temper and manners of its inhabitants."

" If, contrary to my deſires and expectation, you " refuſe the fortune I offer you, at leaſt preſerve me " your friendſhip. Be diſcreet, reveal not to any " one the ſteps I have taken in your favour. I wiſh

" you a long ſeries of years, and all the proſperity " that is due to your valour."

Thamas Kouli Kan, Sophi.

This letter, far from giving me any ſatisfaction, cauſed me abundance of uneaſineſs; I was perfectly ſenſible that moment, that if it ſhould happen to get air, it would expoſe me to the *Sultan*'s utmoſt diſpleaſure; and alſo, that my enemies would eagerly ſeize on this opportunity to ruin me. Had my dear friend the *Kaimakan* been alive, I would have been directed by his counſel; but the cruel deſtinies had ſnatched him from me.

On the other hand, the *Sultan* was become inacceſſible for ſome time; he no longer came out of the apartment of his wives; in ſhort, he died, without my either having the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him, or being able to communicate to him this fatal letter; and his deceaſe left me without a protector, and expoſed to all the animoſity of my jealous enemies.

To add to my misfortune, *Muſtapha Azem*, finding that neither his maſter's letter, nor all the promiſes he could make me in his name, could tempt me to ſwerve from my duty, reſolved to create ſuſpicions in the *Porte* to my diſadvantage; to the end, the ill uſage I might receive from the *Sultan*, might provoke me to accept the offers of *Kouli Kan*. With this view, he began, on pretence of taking the air, to viſit me frequently, and ſend me preſents; being willing, as he ſaid, to make me amends for the expences he thereby occaſioned me. I foreſaw very plainly this great intimacy would give umbrage to the miniſtry, and even acquainted the ambaſſador with this my opinion; but he pretended to make a jeſt of my apprehenſions; and far from diſcontinuing, or being leſs frequent in his viſits, he came now every day, and even lay often at my houſe.

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Fortunately for me, at this critical juncture, the emperor, *Mahomet* V. who had been preferred to *Sultan Ibrahim*, the ſon of *Achmet* III. my benefactor, conſtituted the *Aga* of *Aleppo*, my intimate friend, *Kaimakan*, or governor of *Conſtantinople*. But the *Aga*, being firſt obliged to terminate many affairs relating to the poſt he was about to quit, could not come to the *Porte*, till three months after his being named for that employment. I had already written to him a congratulatory letter upon his advancement; wherein I had informed him, that I had a very tickliſh affair upon my hands, which made me apprehenſive of ſome fatal conſequences reſulting from it; and that therefore I waited his arrival with the utmoſt impatience, in order to acquaint him therewith.

He had given me hopes, in his anſwer, that I ſhould ſee him very ſoon, which obliged me to wait, with what patience I could, yet ſome days longer: In the mean while, the daily viſits of the *Perſian* ambaſſador began to produce the effect he had deſired. The Deputy *Boſtangi-Bachi* apprized his highneſs thereof, upon which *Mahomet* V. who is of a very ſuſpicious temper, took the alarm, and ordered that officer to examine narrowly into my conduct: And as this deputy did not wiſh me at all well, becauſe I had refuſed him an *Arabian* horſe, which I deſigned for my own uſe, he bribed two of my domeſticks to become ſpies upon my behaviour. They were a couple of *Italians*, who were in love with each other, and the woman was one, in whom my wife repoſed an entire confidence; inſomuch that we ſpoke before her, without miſtruſt, both of *Kouli Kan*'s letter, and the offers the ambaſſador continually made me in his name.

The wench knew alſo with what contempt and reſolution I had conſtantly refuſed them; but whe-

ther ſhe did not declare this circumſtance to her lover, or whether he purpoſely concealed it, to make his court with the deputy *Boſtangi-Bachi*, he only informed him of the other part, whereof he inſtantly gave notice to the emperor; inſomuch that, one night two *Capigi-Bachis* came, and ſeizing on my papers, ſummoned me to appear next day before the *Divan*.

By great good luck, growing weary of the delay of my friend the new *Kaimakan*, I had ſent him this fatal letter the evening before, together with a circumſtantial account of the whole affair; wherefore, it could not be found amongſt my papers, and this it was that providentially ſaved my life.

The *Divan* being met, the emperor appeared thereat with an angry countenance; and, turning to me, "Canſt thou juſtify thyſelf, ſays he, for the correſpondence thou haſt held with the ambaſſador of "*Kouli Kan?* ſpeak, I am willing to hear thee." "I will be revenged of the injuſtice that is done me, "(anſwered I;) pronounce my ſentence; I am innocent; the *Aga* of *Aleppo*, whom you have lately "honoured with one of the higheſt poſts in your "empire, has got the letter of the *Sophi*; and he "will render you a faithful account of my conduct "in this reſpect. He knows all the particulars of "this matter, and with what diſdain I rejected all the "offers of that monarch. My life is in your hands, "and you may diſpoſe of it as you pleaſe; I have "feared death as little as I have deſired it."

On my thus ſaying, there appeared ſuch a violent emotion in the *Sultan*'s face, as made thoſe few friends I had ſtill left, tremble for my ſafety; they were afraid *Mahomet* would condemn me to loſe my life: But, after having looked on me ſome moments, with eyes ſparkling with fury; "Thou ſhalt live, (cried "he) but thy wife ſhall be confined in the old *Se-*

"*raglio*,

" *raglio*, and thou ſhalt be ſent away from my " court."

This ſaid, he made a ſign with his hand, to have his orders put in execution. Immediately I was delivered up to the *Capigi Bachis*, who conducted me to one of the caſtles of the *Dardanelles*, but they ſuffered my wife to remain in quiet at home. The *Sultan*, foreſeeing an approaching rupture with the emperor of *Germany*, was willing to make uſe of my counſel, and employ my courage in this war: wherefore he ordered them to uſe me handſomely, and as he knew I almoſt adored my wife, far from adding to her affliction by ſuch a treatment, he cauſed an aſſurance to be given her, that my baniſhment ſhould not be of long continuance.

O Love! who can deſcribe the lively ſorrow with which thou didſt fill the breaſt of my dear *Salviati*, at this cruel ſeparation? And thou, O tender friendſhip! didſt likewiſe intermix thy pains, and induce a languor, which would have brought us both to the grave, had it not been for my ſudden return, and our ſpeedy re-union. In effect, *Muſtapha Azem*, having again cauſed freſh propoſals to be made me, and finding that, notwithſtanding my diſgrace, I rejected them with indignation, and it would be impoſſible for him to gain me over to his purpoſe, determined to do me ſervice, by declaring my innocence and fidelity.

Scarce had I got to the *Dardanelles* before the new *Kaimakan* came thither; and, being informed of my misfortune, orders the *Aga* of the caſtle to uſe me with great reſpect; which done, he flies to *Conſtantinople*, to endeavour to procure my deliverance. As ſoon as he arrived there, he engaged all the chief officers of the empire to meet, and prevailed on them to uſe their intereſt for a man, to whom they had ſuch great obligations. They went then together to the

the emperor; and the *Grand Vizier*, who had been informed of the whole truth by the embaſſador, addreſſing himſelf to his highneſs, acquainted him with my innocence, repreſenting to him, at the ſame time, that a *Beglerbeg* of the empire, whoſe conduct had been not only unblameable, but admired by all the *Divan*, was not one of thoſe ordinary perſons, of whom monarchs, in their pride, are uſed to make their ſport.

The *Sultan*, whoſe haughty temper could but ill ſtoop to recall me ſo ſoon, was overjoyed that he could now do it under the ſeeming colour of a voluntary clemency: wherefore he gives orders for my releaſe, ſends for me into his preſence, expreſſes a great regard for me, and baniſhes the deputy *Boſtangi-Bachi*, as guilty of having impoſed on him; being willing, by this example of his ſeverity, to give a ſpecious appearance of juſtice to the injury he had done me, and the manner wherein he made compenſation for it. He appointed me alſo to command in chief a body of thirty thouſand men, as ſoon as war ſhould be declared againſt the emperor of *Germany*. It may eaſily be believed, that I received this teſtimony of the *Sultan*'s favour with extreme joy; not becauſe this aggrandizement of my fortune cauſed me any great pleaſure, but becauſe this poſt would enable me to ſerve his highneſs advantageouſly, and to give him proofs of my courage and fidelity.

On my coming away from this *Divan*, a number of officers would conduct me to my own houſe; where my wife, who waited for me with that lively impatience, whereof none but tender lovers are ſenſible, had prepared a magnificent entertainment; wherefore I kept them all to dinner; and the new *Kaimakan*, who was at the head of theſe officers, ſtaid ſome days with me, in order to give new life o our friendſhip. "For one muſt not let it ſlumber

"too

"too long, (ſaid he;) reſt, indeed, may not prove "quite fatal to it, but it cauſes it to grow languid; "it is good, therefore, to rouze up one's friends from "time to time, by little endearments, for fear they "ſhould fall aſleep, or become indolent." This dear friend had never before ſeen my dear *Salviati*; he had already indeed conceived a great eſteem for her, and her amiable behaviour rendered him perfectly devoted to her; and ſhe was the more pleaſed with the acquiſition of this generous governor's friendſhip, as he was an entirely honeſt man, full of merit and good ſenſe.

The day, then, that the *Sultan* did me the honour to recall me, was one of the moſt agreeable and glorious of my life; we ſhall ſee hereafter, whether this beginning of favour was of any ſervice or advantage to me: However, I took from that moment a firm reſolution, not to ſuffer myſelf to be dejected, whatever might befal me. I began to grow a perfect philoſopher; I already looked with contempt on any other life than a quiet one; and I thank heaven, at preſent, not only for having inſpired me with theſe ſentiments, but for having given me the leiſure, and laid me under a neceſſity to put them in execution: infinite are the numbers, both young and old, who die without them. In ſhort, whatever may happen to me, I do not intend to ſpend my days in ſorrow and tears; that precept of *Solomon*, *to rejoice and make merry*, has always pleaſed me extremely: fortune diſturbs our innocent joys ſufficiently, without our adding to our uneaſineſs, by being afraid our pleaſures ſhould tranſport us too far.

About a week after my return, a great *Divan* was ſummoned, where a commiſſion was given me, to draw together by degrees, the body of troops that were to be under my command, and an addition was again made to my allowance: and as I had leave to chuſe

chuſe my own officers, I demanded again my *Swiſs* and *Germans*, with whom I had all imaginable reaſon to be ſatisfied, both to help me in aſſembling my forces, and to give them ſome notion of war. For I was determined to have only the militia of *Syria*, which the *Kaimakan* had promiſed me, that I might have an abſolute authority over them, and manage them as I pleaſed; being fully perſuaded, that regular troops would never obey my orders punctually; ſo that I preferred a mixed multitude of diverſe nations to the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*. It is true, I deſired ſix troops of *Spahi's*, but it was only of thoſe who had come with me out of *Arabia*; and theſe were merely to form my officers of cavalry. The author of the memoirs, publiſhed in my name, is again miſtaken here, when he affirms, that I was not admitted to the *Divan*, till I was appointed to command a body of forces; for I had this privilege in the reign of *Achmet*, when I was conſtituted governor of *Arabia Petrea*; nay, my dignity of *Beglerbeg*, gave me even admittance at the private *Divans*, where only the *Mufti*, *Grand Vizier*, *Seraſkier*, and *Kaimakan* are preſent.

He is likewiſe in an error, when he ſays, that, on coming from the audience, I was ſurrounded by a crowd of officers, both ſmall and great, who complimented me upon my promotion, and expreſſed the greateſt alacrity to ſerve under me. The officers of the *Porte* are by no means ſo cringing; the leaſt of them would have thought himſelf diſgraced in obeying my orders; the jealouſy alone they would have conceived againſt me, might have proved fatal to me; and I was already too much verſed in the cuſtoms of this court, to have received any, of whom I was not perfectly well aſſured; and this is what I durſt not have flattered myſelf with the hopes of.

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Nor is he leſs deceived, when he affirms, I was only glad of this war, and of having ſome command therein, that I might be revenged for the ill uſage I had met with from the *Aulick* council, in ſacrificing me baſely to the ſhare the marquis de *Prie* had given to the principal members of the plunder of the *Low Countries*. This, purſues he, was what animated me: I imagined myſelf already at the head of a conſiderable body of *Turks*, to ſhew the *Germans* count *Bonneval* either deſerved to be pardoned, or ought to have been rendered incapable of hurting them. He adds, that this thought made me grow young again, and that I fancied I had the ſame vigour and activity, as I had at *Malplaquet*, five or ſix and twenty years ago; when, at the head of the *German* infantry, I broke through the center of the enemy's army, and made the *French* guards fly before me.

I muſt own this language, which is put into my mouth, tranſports me with indignation every time I think thereof. Is it poſſible they ſhould have formed ſuch notions of my temper, and could argue with ſo little judgment! Will not they, who have been acquainted with me, do me more juſtice? It is true, whilſt thoſe wounds were yet recent and bleeding, and even for ſome years afterwards, I ſhould not have been ſorry, to make ſome perſons ſenſible of the indignities they cauſed me to ſuffer unjuſtly; but my reſentment was never carried ſo far, as to extend to the whole nation in general; nor was I ever deſirous of being ſatiated with the blood of infinite numbers of wretches, who had no manner of hand in the injuſtice done me.

Beſides, ſuppoſing me at the head of two hundred thouſand *Turks*, where ſhould I find thoſe victims, who alone deſerve my indignation? Muſt it be the ſoldiers, who have ſacrified their lives a thouſand times to preſerve mine? or muſt it be the officers,

officers, by whom I was generally beloved and eſteemed; nevertheleſs theſe are the only victims that war offers to our revenge; and the members of the *Aulick* council love their dear ſelves too well, to venture to oppoſe my incurſions in perſon. Nay, were I to make rivers of blood flow in *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Auſtria*, and in ſhort throughout *Germany*, ſhould I be a jot more revenged on my enemies? No; I ſhould only ſacrifice my friends, and an infinite number of perſons who have done me good offices, without being able to chaſtiſe the guilty.

Is any heart, that is ever ſo little ſuſceptible of the ſentiments of humanity, capable of running into ſuch exceſſes? Will juſtice puniſh the innocent for the crimes of the guilty? and has count *Bonneval* in his paſt conduct diſcovered ſo ſavage a temper? has he been only known by his cruelty? has he not reaſon to complain of *France?* and, nevertheleſs, did he ever diſplay ſuch a ſpirit of revenge, as they now aſcribe to him, on any priſoner that fell into his hands? On the contrary, has he not on all occaſions given proofs of a generous and beneficent heart? and ought not theſe benevolent actions he had done, whenever he has had it in his power, to be a convincing demonſtration, that he is and ever will be the ſame?

For, if I thought my own ſentiments of any weight, I ſhould ſay it is a miſtake to imagine that any men, who are once naturally generous, and of a humane diſpoſition, can afterwards alter ſo far, as to become cruel, and blood-thirſty; becauſe our inclinations are ſo much interwoven with our conſtitution, that it is little poſſible to change the one and the other; and no one will deny, that our tempers, in ſome meaſure, grow milder as we advance in years; becauſe when the blood is cooled by age,

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we are not generally ſo paſſionate as in the heat and fury of youth; from whence it ought to be concluded, that having never been guilty of an inhuman action in my young days, I am incapable thereof at preſent, in an age when reaſon and reflection have a greater influence upon me. In ſhort, in order to form a juſt judgment of any man, we muſt put together all the actions of his life; and if they would reflect ever ſo little upon mine, they would conclude that I am far from being poſſeſſed with that ſavage ſpirit of revenge whereof I am accuſed.

Yes, I can truly affirm, that paſſion is abſolutely baniſhed from my breaſt: I conſider, that life is ſhort and ſoon over; and it is long ſince the reſentment of the injuries done me is worn away: but, as I do not love to be an object of pity, I intended in offering my ſervices to the *Turks*, to extricate myſelf from the miſery to which they had reduced me; and I will ſerve them faithfully without doing any injury to the emperor of *Germany*, or his ſubjects, but as far is conſiſtent with the laws of war.

I can even aver, that ſince my retirement into *Turkey*, I have done more good to the *Chriſtians*, and have abounded more in works of charity and juſtice, than when I was in the ſervice of the princes of *Chriſtendom*: It will then be only doing me right to believe, that I had no hand in exciting this war; being fully convinced I ſhould have but little ſhare therein, as has actually ſince happened; as alſo, that on all occaſions, where I could diſtinguiſh myſelf, I acted like a generous captain, and not like a ravenous lion, that thirſts only after blood and ſlaughter.

I give this account of myſelf, only to ſilence, if poſſible, the calumnies that have been ſo unjuſtly ſpread abroad concerning me. I ſhall be told, perhaps,

haps, that it is a very fruitleſs undertaking, to endeavour to ſtop malicious tongues; mankind will not ceaſe railing; and if they cannot find any real reaſons to ſpeak ill, they will invent falſities; they do not love to commend, and eſpecially ſuch perſons as are extraordinary: Nay, if they have no preſent cauſe to calumniate, they will even have the conſummate aſſurance and ill-nature, to rail upon ſurmiſes of what may happen hereafter. This is all true; but ſtill there is a remedy, notwithſtanding this general corruption and perverſeneſs; and this is, I will always act like a man of honour, and let them rave on, if they will not vouchſafe to do me the juſtice I deſerve.

To return from whence I have digreſſed; the diſgrace I underwent on account of the *Perſian* embaſſador was amply rewarded ſix months after: *Thamas Kouli Kan*, being informed of this event, reſolved upon making me ſome compenſation for it; accordingly, being convinced I ſhould want ſome horſes, in order to form my cavalry, he ſent me five hundred of the fineſt in his army, together with ſixty others, exceedingly beautiful, for my own equipage.

As ſoon as *Muſtapha Azem* had informed me hereof, I begged the *Kaimakan* to acquaint his highneſs with it, in order to know his ſentiments concerning ſo conſiderable a preſent: He did ſo, and the *Sultan*, highly pleaſed with this regard and circumſpection, allowed me to accept of them. As ſoon as they arrived at *Conſtantinople*, I ſent the threeſcore that were deſigned for me to the ſtables of the *Seraglio*, and the emperor was again greatly delighted with this teſtimony of my generoſity; however, he kept but ſix of them, and reſtored me the others; "Not, "(ſaid he) that I deſpiſe thy preſent, but I know "thou wilt have need of them thyſelf."

In

In the mean while, every one began already to be in motion upon the frontiers, and my *Germans* were at *Aleppo*, to draw together the recruits, whilſt the two *Swiſs* were marking out the plan of a camp, which I intended to form of theſe troops, in the neighbourhood of *Scutari*, that I might be more at hand to have an eye over them. In ſhort, every thing already preſaged an approaching war with the *Germans*, when my ſpouſe, being aſſured I could not continue long at home, took an uncommon reſolution, and one that will ſcarcely obtain credit; this was, to learn to ride, and to perform the military exerciſe.

"Dear count, (ſaid ſhe, to induce me to conſent "to her deſires) the diſgrace you have undergone "has coſt me too many alarms, for me to expoſe "myſelf to be ſeparated any more from you. I have "obſerved, that of all the misfortunes to which "people are ſubject in courts, there are none more "dangerous than thoſe which are to be met with "here; and it is very certain, had not the *Sultan* "foreſeen you might be of ſome ſervice to him in "the war that is on the point of breaking out, nei-"ther your innocence nor your integrity would have "ſaved your life. Parted from each other forever, "I ſhould have been expoſed to the utmoſt misfor-"tunes; being once entered into the *Seraglio*, there "would no longer have been any hopes of my ever "getting out. You are not ignorant that there is a "law, that a woman muſt never come out of that "priſon, unleſs the emperor marries her to ſome "great officer of the *Porte*; and I ſhould have been "far from accepting my liberty upon thoſe terms. "Suppoſing even that your life had been ſpared, "the ſorrow for my loſs would have engaged you "in ſome enterprize, wherein you would have miſ-"carried; and on your falling a ſacrifice to the *Sul-*

"*tan's*

" *tan*'s fury, I ſhould have died with ſorrow and " deſpair. I am young, and capable of bearing " ſome fatigues; I deſign therefore to diſguiſe *my* " ſex, accompany you to the army, and fight *by* " your ſide. Whatever you may repreſent to me " on this head will be to no purpoſe; and if you " really love me, you will not oppoſe my reſolution: " by this means I ſhall be delivered from the tor- " ments of abſence, and the other misfortunes that " may befal me when ſeparated from you: beſides, " if you refuſe me this favour, I ſhall make my " eſcape, in ſpite of all the precautions you can take " to the contrary. I find I have courage; I love " glory; any thing extraordinary pleaſes and tranſ- " ports me. In a word, I will never leave you " more, but will be the faithful companion of all " your military atchievements."

So bold a deſign did not at all ſurprize me; I knew my dear *Salviati* too well, to fear her wanting courage; but then I alſo loved her too well, not to be uneaſy at this reſolution. I gave my dear friend, the *Kaimakan*, an account of this romantic intention; who, being ſurprized to find in a woman thoſe virtues that form the heroes, congratulated my happineſs in being poſſeſſor of ſo incomparable a perſon, who, with a thouſand other admirable qualities, was alſo endued with courage and magnanimity. In effect, he adviſed me not to oppoſe her deſign; being fully convinced, as he ſaid, that her tender love would be leſs able to bear the pain of abſence, than the toils and fatigues of war; whereupon *Acber*, one of the two *Swiſs*, began to teach her the military exerciſe; after which, I applied myſelf wholly to perfect her therein; ſo that in four months ſhe became as expert at it as myſelf.

As ſoon as ſhe found herſelf fully verſed in every point, ſhe was deſirous of exerciſing my little army, conſiſting

conſiſting already of about twelve thouſand men, having provided herſelf of a very magnificent and very convenient habit. The *Kaimakan*, who had reſolved to make her paſs for one of his relations, came to ſee her way of commanding, and was charmed therewith; and I muſt own I was myſelf aſtoniſhed at her exactneſs and her addreſs. She managed her horſe gracefully, uſed a ſcymeter with great dexterity, and fired a piſtol with a better aim than myſelf. Being grown plump ſince our reunion, it had deprived her of that admirable elegance of ſhape, and that fine preſence which ſhe had before, but then it had given her ſo majeſtic an air, that ſhe might very well have paſſed for a young man, already ſtrong and vigorous; and made altogether a very amiable cavalier. She employed herſelf from that time in reviewing the troops every afternoon, which uncommon ſight drew together an almoſt infinite concourſe of people, both from *Conſtantinople*, and the parts adjacent.

A circumſtance of this nature, though ſomewhat extraordinary, is not what was never before heard of; there have been heroines in almoſt all ages; and if the gallant actions, performed by this generous woman, in the preſence of many credible witneſſes, ſhould be looked upon as fabulous, merely becauſe of their ſingularity, they will yet obtain leſs credit with the generality of people, on account of the motives that incited her thereto; becauſe, at preſent, we find few perſons animated with ſo conſtant and ſincere a paſſion, as is capable of undertaking, or ſuffering any thing for the party beloved: inſomuch, that the world, inſtead of admiring ſuch actions, will be apt to find ſome falſe pretences, not only to derogate from their merit, but even to condemn them.

Nevertheleſs, they are actually real matters of fact; though I muſt own, they are ſo uncommon, that I myſelf ſhould find it hard to credit them, had I not been an eye-witneſs thereto; but before I proceed to what paſſed in my little army, I cannot avoid relating a ſmall adventure, which about this time befel the *Venetian* embaſſador, and wherein I was partly concerned.

The republic of *Venice* having given the *Ottoman Porte* ſome cauſe of reſentment, two galleys of *Negropont* made capture of a little veſſel, which was bound to *Leghorn*; and wherein were a *Venetian* family, conſiſting of a rich merchant and his wife, with a daughter of fourteen years old, and a ſon of twelve. The daughter, tho' really handſome, was however no very extraordinary beauty; a fine complexion, with an exceeding good ſkin of a dazzling whiteneſs, and a majeſtic preſence, joined to a proper height, and an excellent ſhape, the whole ſet off with an air of ſingular modeſty, with which nature ſeems to have adorned ſome women, only to make virtue appear lovely in their eyes, was all that could render her adorable. Nevertheleſs, the baſſa of *Negropont* was taken with the charms of this young virgin; and as he was deſirous, at the beginning of *Mahomet*'s reign, to have ſome protectreſs in the *Seraglio*, he ſent me the whole family, requeſting me to offer the daughter, in his name, to the *Sultan*; adding at the ſame time, that as to the other three, they were abſolutely at my diſpoſal, and he made me a preſent of them.

Since this *Baſſa* had treated my wife in ſo obliging a manner, we were become good friends, and held a correſpondence together; being informed then that I had been appointed to command a conſiderable body of troops, he falſly imagined, that I was in great favour with his highneſs, and entirely poſſeſſed of

of his good will; and undoubtedly it was his being prepoſſeſſed with this wrong notion, that induced him to charge me with this commiſſion, from which I could heartily have wiſhed to have been excuſed.

As ſoon as theſe four perſons were arrived at my houſe, I gave notice privately to the *Bailo* of *Venice* of this melancholy event, that he might concert proper meaſures for reſtoring them to liberty. It was in my power indeed, to do as I pleaſed with the father, mother, and ſon; but it would have been too dangerous to have favoured the eſcape of the daughter; this ſeemed to me too tickliſh an affair; and I ſhould have expoſed my own life, in giving conſent to her flight. Nevertheleſs, the tears of theſe unfortunate parents pierced me to the heart; and my dear *Salviati*, yet more moved with their ſufferings than myſelf, was earneſtly deſirous, that the embaſſador of *Venice* might be able to obtain the liberty of this amiable virgin; for ſhe was ſenſible, it would be going too far to procure it her at the expence of my ſafety.

The *Bailo* came immediately to my houſe, knew the unfortunate merchant and his family, and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt efforts to extricate them from the danger into which they had fallen: but that nobleman, though otherwiſe a great politician, took a wrong method to effect this; and accordingly miſcarried in his undertaking; nay, he even expoſed himſelf to a mortification, which cauſed him a ſenſible regret. In effect, having deſired a *Divan* to be ſummoned, on pretence of propoſing an affair of importance that concerned the republick, he ſpoke there with ſo much raſhneſs, and in ſuch unguarded terms, that the *Sultan*, who was liſtening, exceſſively provoked at his boldneſs, cauſed him to be put that inſtant under an arreſt; and ſent his eunuchs with an executioner to ſeize on the ſon and daughter, and

with orders immediately to behead the father, and carry his wife to the *Bazar*, there to be ſold as the vileſt of ſlaves. This barbarous ſentence filled me with horrour; and I flew home to prepare theſe poor creatures for this cruel condemnation.

What! cryed *Bertrandi*, (for ſo was this merchant called) my children are ſpared! ah! my ſon! ah! my daughter! what diſhonour is this for you! for what indignities does the deteſtable *Mahomet* reſerve you? After this affecting exclamation he was ſilent; his grief depriving him of his ſpeech. At laſt, uſing his utmoſt efforts, my dear children, ſaid he, never forget an unhappy father and mother, who love you tenderly; and a father, who has no other concern at his death, than to ſee you reſerved for a life a thouſand times worſe than death itſelf.

No, no, my dear father, anſwered this youth, I will never leave you, I will either live or die with you; you have immenſe riches in *Italy*, let us offer all to the *Sultan* for our liberty. This inſtance of virtue, in ſo tender an age, greatly charmed me; but then it alſo made a melancholy impreſſion upon me; nevertheleſs, it inſpired me with a thought, which thought procured them their liberty.

Being ſatisfied the *Grand Vizier*, whoſe inſatiable avarice was well known to me, would be both willing and able to ſave them, provided he could be well paid for them; I engaged the eunuchs, by a pretty conſiderable preſent, to delay the execution for ſome hours. This done, I ran inſtantly to this ſelf-intereſted *Vizier*, and offered him thirty thouſand chequins, for the life of the unhappy *Venetian*, and the liberty of his family. This ſum made ſome impreſſion upon his mind; wherefore he ordered the eunuch to retire 'till next day; and I ſpent the whole

whole night in viſiting my friends, to induce them to interceed for this innocent family.

As ſoon as the *Grand Vizier* had taken proper meaſures to make ſure of receiving the thirty thouſand chequins, he quickly prevailed on *Mahomet*, to revoke his unjuſt ſentence; in effect, he had ſo far gained the aſcendant over that emperor, notwithſtanding his being very guilty of encouraging monopolies, that he durſt not in a manner deny him this favour. He obtained then the liberty of the father, mother, and ſon; but as to the daughter, ſhe was forced to go into the *Seraglio*. Nevertheleſs, as the *Grand Vizier* hinted, that ſhe might be got out for a ſecond preſent, her unfortunate father began to be comforted; when a freſh misfortune plunged him into as ſenſible a ſorrow as before. *Mahomet*'s cruel ſentence had ſo ſtrongly affected the ſenſes of his wife, that ſhe fell into a ſwoon; and ſhe had but half opened her eyes, drowned in tears, when they acquainted her with her happy deliverance; in ſhort, we ſaw but too plainly, that ſhe was about to cloſe them again for ever. Accordingly, joy had a yet ſtronger effect on her than ſorrow; her ſpirits, already exhauſted, could not bear this too ſudden ſhifting of the ſcene, her ſenſes fail her in a moment, and ſhe breathes her laſt: we could none of us refuſe tears to the memory of this unfortunate woman.

In the mean while *Silvia Bertrandi* was carried to the *Seraglio*; and her father, though oppreſſed with the moſt ſenſible grief, took all imaginable pains to procure her releaſement from this honourable priſon; accordingly, having cauſed the thirty thouſand chequins to be paid to the *Grand Vizier*, he gave him alſo a note for as much more, in caſe he ſucceeded in obtaining the reſtitution of his daughter. In effect, the firſt miniſter

begged it of the *Sultan*, but it was not in *Mahomet*'s power; he could not do it, without violating the fundamental laws of the empire; and even ſeemed ſorry, he could not grant him this favour.

However, he told him, he would conſent to her enlargement, if any officer of the *Porte* would marry her; for, as has been already obſerved, when any woman has once entered the *Seraglio*, the law is, that ſhe muſt never come out, unleſs the emperor gives her in marriage to ſome great man of the *Porte*; and this is what her father would not hear of, being perſuaded he ſhould ſtill be equally deprived of her in that caſe. Endeavours were uſed therefore to inſpire the favourite *Sultana* with jealouſy, to the end ſhe might facilitate her eſcape; but ſhe being of an imperious and cruel temper, inſtead of agreeing to this deſign, reſolved to have her poiſoned; and accordingly gave orders for this abominable purpoſe to a black eunuch, in whom ſhe repoſed the greateſt confidence.

This eunuch acquainted the *Grand Vizier* therewith, who, being apprehenſive of loſing the ſum agreed on, ſent directly for me to perſuade me to marry this young maiden: you may then diſpoſe of her as you pleaſe, and reſtore her to her father, ſays this ſelfiſh miniſter; and the *Sultan*, who ſeemed to me to be concerned, that he could not deliver her any other way, will overlook this ſeeming offence.

I muſt own this thought of the *Vizier* appeared to me ſo ſingular, that it was impoſſible for me to keep my countenance; which want of reſpect would have highly provoked him, had he not conſidered, at the ſame time, that my compliance would be worth thirty thouſand chequins to him; inſomuch, that far from blaming my fault, he loaded me with careſſes. I aſked two days to reflect

fect upon it, in order to inform *Bertrandi* and my wife of it; and my dear *Salviati*, who was vehemently desirous of this beauteous maiden's liberty, fully satisfied I would take no advantage of the power this sort of marriage would give me over the amiable *Silvia*, persuaded me to agree thereto; nor was her father averse to it, being well assured his daughter would run no hazard, in falling into my hands.

Having acquainted the *Grand Vizier* then with my consent, he laboured so earnestly to terminate this affair, that this virgin was delivered to me, about three months after her entrance into the *Seraglio*; and as soon as she was in my custody, I conveyed her privately aboard a ship, together with her father and brother; and their voyage proving prosperous, they arrived without any farther accident at *Venice*. Nevertheless, this act of charity caused me afterwards abundance of vexation; it was one of the principal heads of my accusation, after the peace made with the emperor of *Germany*, and one of the grievances which occasioned my banishment.

As for the embassador of *Venice*, he did not continue long under an arrest; all the other embassadors of the *Christian* potentates uniting together, and making a great stir, about this contravention of the law of nations. Monsieur *Kalkoen* especially, the *Dutch* embassador, exerted himself vigorously on this occasion; and as he is a person highly respected at the *Porte*, and who has distinguished himself infinitely in this country, by his good sense, civility, generosity, and excellent behaviour, his representations had some effect. He also sent his secretary to me, to engage me to make use of my friends in favour of that minister.

In effect, I had already taken some steps, in order to obtain his enlargement; for I esteemed him

too well to forſake him under this little diſgrace; and my dear friend the *Kaimakan* had promiſed me, to leave nothing untried to extricate him from this affair: accordingly, he repreſented in ſo lively a manner to his highneſs, the ill conſequences of this outrage, that he remained a priſoner but eight days. Nevertheleſs, they obliged him to a thing which mortified him yet more than the affront he had undergone: he was conſtrained to make a ſort of recantation, that is, to excuſe himſelf to the *Divan*, for having failed in his reſpect to them.

The brigantine, on board of which I had ſent *Bertrandi* and his family, returned again before I ſet out for the war; it was in a manner loaded with preſents for me and my ſpouſe; and yet *Bertrandi* begged me to excuſe the ſmall value of them; the diſorder of his affairs, as he ſaid, not allowing him to add thereto: nevertheleſs theſe preſents amounted to above a hundred thouſand piaſtres. Proceed we now to the preparations for the war, and my departure for *Hungary*.

Of all the various kinds of government, there is none that excels monarchy, whilſt it is ſupported in it's natural order, or returns to it through ſome unforeſeen accident: accordingly, it has always had the preference given to it by the moſt able politicians, as being the moſt ancient, the leaſt ſubject to change, and the moſt conformable to the divine will.

There are but two ſorts of monarchies, namely, the œconomical, and the *Lacedemonian*; for the elective, the hereditary, the barbarian, and the deſpotic, may all be referred to theſe two kinds. Of theſe experience teaches us, that the firſt is the moſt preferable; for inſtance, the melancholy revolutions the empire has undergone, can only be aſcribed to the want of authority in the preſent emperors:

perors: this defect has broken the ſinews of it's government. In effect, what difference is there between the ancient and modern empire? What is become of the enormous power of *Charlemagne?* It has all vaniſhed inſenſibly. Pope *Gregory* V. firſt robbed his ſucceſſors of this fine inheritance, and *Charles* IV. put the laſt hand to undermining it's power, in eſtabliſhing the electors by the golden bull. It is true, *Charles* V. reſtored it, in ſome meaſure, to it's luſtre; but it's glory ſoon vaniſhed, and in effect it was impoſſible to ſupport it. A number of petty ſovereigns, and neutral or free cities, confine the emperors to very narrow bounds; which prevent their executing the beſt concerted deſigns, and treading in the ſteps which *Charles* V. had marked out for them.

During the life of prince *Eugene*, and whilſt the *Turks* were abſolutely ignorant of the military art, and of making war after the manner of *Europeans*, the empire might gain ſome advantages over the *Mahometans*; but at preſent, when the empire of *Germany* is at the laſt gaſp, and the *Ottomans* are infinitely more formidable than in former wars, *Germany* had no reaſon to expect any thing, but the ſhameful misfortunes to which is was expoſed.

It is hard to reflect upon the conduct of the *Aulick* council, in coming to a rupture with the *Sublime Porte*, without being in a manner moved to indignation; for what ſucceſs could they expect? what probability was there, that a ſtate in a languiſhing condition, without money, almoſt without troops, without any experienced general, and over head and ears in debt; that a ſtate, I ſay, already conſtrained to make peace with *France*, upon diſhonourable conditions, ſhould hope for great ſucceſs againſt the *Turks?*

Hungary, *Tranſylvania*, and other countries under the dominion of the emperor, and overloaded with impoſts and vexations, did they promiſe any great ſubmiſſion in the people? On the contrary, were they not an almoſt certain preſage of the diſaſters that happened? Will they alledge, to conceal the real motive to this undertaking, the alliance with the *Czarina?* if ſo, why did not they imitate her in their conduct, by ſending ſome auxiliary troops to fulfil the treaties entered into with that empreſs, without drawing upon themſelves a formidable power, which waited impatiently for a *rupture*? but the *Turks*, being too rigid obſervers of their word, would have been far from being the firſt to violate their promiſes.

Notwithſtanding I was fully convinced of the avarice of ſome members of the *Aulick* council, I rather wiſhed than hoped for this war; not being able to imagine, they would be ſo very raſh, to ſacrifice the whole empire to their own private intereſts. Nevertheleſs, I was deceived in my expectations, and my deſires were accompliſhed; nor could this falſe ſtep be retrieved, but by the loſs of a place, which was an almoſt impenetrable barrier to ſecure *Auſtria*, and ſhelter *Vienna* itſelf from all accidents.

I have made this ſhort digreſſion, only to ſhew, that, far from inciting the *Ottoman Porte* to undertake this war, I never believed there would be any; ſo that I prepared myſelf for it rather as an amuſement, than with the thoughts of coming to blows in earneſt. In effect, the principal officers of the *Porte*, to whom I had repreſented what ſubſtantial reaſons there were for the emperor to maintain the peace, agreed all unanimouſly there would be no war, but the treaties would rather be renewed than broken. It was even reſolved, in all the *Divans*, to

prefer peace to a rupture; and I can truly boaſt, that I agreed thereto with great readineſs; being more deſirous of enjoying the ſweets of a quiet life, than of being again involved in the tumults of the field.

War, however, is at laſt declared; and already had I prepared to make my troops file off for *Adrianople*, in whoſe neighbourhood I had appointed their rendezvous. My little army, notwithſtanding all my care and diligence, conſiſted only of eight thouſand cavalry, and twelve thouſand infantry, including two battallions of fuſileers, one battalion of bombardiers, two companies of miners and pioneers, with a thouſand dragoons. It is needleſs to obſerve, that they were all armed after the *European* manner, becauſe that may well be imagined, only my horſe had no jack-boots; it being impoſſible for me to bring the *Turks* to the uſe of them.

I had found the means to gain over ſix able engineers, three *French*, two *Germans*, and one *Italian*; one of the *Swiſs* was my adjutant-general, and the other major-general of the cavalry. All my troops were divided into regiments; each of which conſiſted either of three battallions, or three ſquadrons; all tolerably diſciplined, as far as the various nations, whereof they were compoſed, would admit. Eight days after their departure, my dear *Salviati* mounts her horſe, at the head of her regiment, (to which I had given her name) to begin her march, and ſerve us as a convoy; and it may be truly affirmed, that this regiment was the flower of all the cavalry, both with regard to the men and the horſes. All the troopers were young, ſtrong, robuſt, and capable of undergoing great fatigues; all the horſes were *Perſians*; and I had diſtributed amongſt them thoſe that were ſent me by *Thamas Kouli Kan*.

My

My ſpouſe had choſen the *Swiſs* to command under her, and ſerve her as her gentleman of the horſe; and as he was a man of great prudence, very brave, and perfectly well verſed in the military art, I was eaſy about the ſafety of my dear *Salviati*. As ſoon as ſhe was gone from *Conſtantinople*, I went and took leave of the *Sultan* and my friends; which done, I left the care of my houſe to *Signora Barnetti*, and flew to join the regiment of *Salviati* at *Belgrade*. This is a ſmall village, ſituated in the midſt of a wood, about four leagues from *Conſtantinople*; and is only to be admired for its pleaſant ſituation, and a number of pretty country ſeats, which the *Franks* have built there, to retire to in ſummer, when the plague begins to rage. One finds in this foreſt the fineſt walks in the world, where the ſun-beams never penetrate; to which may be added, that one enjoys there a perpetual ſpring.

It is not my deſign here, to give a circumſtantial journal of all the actions or exploits wherein I was concerned in this war; accounts of this nature generally make the reader ready to fall aſleep; and one muſt be of the profeſſion, to take any pleaſure therein. Beſides, I will own ingenuouſly, that, during the two campaigns, wherein I had ſome hand, I had hardly any other buſineſs, than to be conſtantly in motion, and make continual marches and countermarches. The chief officers of the *Turks* being perſuaded, if my little army came to an engagement, it would carry away all the honour of the victory, took a reſolution, not only not to employ me in any action of importance, but alſo to ruin my troops, by ſuffering them to want all manner of neceſſaries: ſo that being expoſed to ſcarcity and famine, for want of their pay, it was eaſy for them to inveigle away great part of them. This conſtrained me, at the end of the ſecond campaign, to return to *Conſtantinople*, and com-

complain of the unjuſt procedure of thoſe who had orders not to let me want any thing for the ſupport of the forces under my command. In ſhort, there was only the regiment of *Salviati* that remained entire and faithful; becauſe my wife ſold many jewels of value, to ſupply them with ſubſiſtence, and pay them. Neither, indeed, can one, without injuſtice, deny them the honour of having highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, on all occaſions, whenever they came to blows.

Being ſatisfied, that if ever vigilance and caution is neceſſary, it is chiefly at the army; and that the ſoldiers muſt rely upon the care of their generals and officers, who muſt be anſwerable for their lives and ſafety; whilſt it is the ſoldier's buſineſs to fight, and endure the fatigues of their profeſſion; I called my council of war, two days after my arrival at the camp near *Adrianople*, both to regulate the march of the army, and to encourage the officers to do their duty. Accordingly, I began by giving them ſome inſtructions, and concluded as follows: "It is not the whole duty of a general, (ſaid I) to defeat the enemy, nor yet to gain battles; he muſt alſo know how to make good uſe of a victory. An officer is but very indifferent, when overjoyed with having beaten a party, he contents himſelf with the glory he fancies he has acquired; and, as if he durſt not entirely deſtroy the enemy, or diſable them from doing him any prejudice at another juncture, he gives them time to recover themſelves, and rally afreſh: Inſomuch that, after having ſhed rivers of blood, his work is all to be done over again, for want of knowing how to improve his advantages. I know well the moſt ſkilful in the art of war commit faults, which the common ſoldiers frequently diſcover, and at which they murmur; for they are thoroughly acquainted with the abilities, talents, and valour of thoſe

thoſe who command them: but they never do them juſtice, nor eſteem them, till they are truly deſerving. Then, indeed, they are neither diſcouraged by fatigues nor dangers, when their officers ſhew them the example; a diſintereſted temper, eſpecially, is what endears a leader to his ſoldiers. If a commander does not always continue reſolute and unmoved, in the midſt of the greateſt perils, it is impoſſible he ſhould give his orders with that calmneſs and preſence of mind, that is neceſſary to prevent overſights or diſappointments. To conclude, it is not by butchering a multitude of enemies, a *man* ought to think of ſignalizing himſelf: when they are overcome and routed, we ſhould moderate the fury of the ſoldiers, who are always bent upon ſlaughter, and be contented with the honour of the victory. In a word, the prudence of a general muſt be equal to his courage; he muſt have conſtancy and reſolution in all dangerous occurrences; he muſt lay hold with addreſs on all favourable circumſtances; and, above all, muſt conceal from the enemy what ſituation he is himſelf in, and take the greateſt care of his men, who expoſe themſelves to ſo many fatigues, and ſacrifice their own lives to acquire him glory."

After this ſhort diſcourſe, we regulated the march of the troops as far as the frontiers. I will here confeſs, that at that moment I found in myſelf as much vigour and courage as I had at the age of thirty, and that all my ambition revived: It was a misfortune for me not to meet with opportunities ſufficiently favourable to make the beſt uſe of this my good diſpoſition. Notwithſtanding all my artillery conſiſted only of twenty pieces of cannon, ten twelve pounders, and the others but eight, with ſome mortars of between eight and nine inches in the bore, our march was exceſſively fatiguing and laborious, becauſe of the continual rains that had ſpoiled the roads.

roads. At laſt, after infinite toils, we arrived upon the banks of the *Danube*, where we encamped ſome time, in order to diſcover on what ſide I might penetrate the fartheſt. Mean while, by little and little, I advanced as far as *Beſcabara*, a caſtle tolerably fortified; and as there is in the neighbourhood an iſland in the midſt of the *Danube*, I cauſed ſome brigantines to be built there, for tranſporting forage, proviſion, and military ſtores. From this camp I ſent ſome ſmall detachments on all ſides, both to get intelligence, and bring in priſoners. One day, amongſt the reſt, being informed that a conſiderable body of troops had appeared near *Orſomelo*, a pretty large town in *Walachia*, I reſolved to attack and take them, which I partly executed; but they were only a heap of militia, whom they had gathered from all parts, ſo that I had diſperſed them in an inſtant. This little expedition had induced me to quit the *Danube*, and direct my march towards *Temeſwar*; but, at the time when I leaſt expected it, I was ſtopped, and in a manner inveſted by a body of between ten and twelve thouſand horſe, conſiſting of *Coſſacks* and *Huſſars*.

Having drawn up my troops in order of battle, to receive them, my dear *Salviati*, at the head of her regiment, which I had placed in the center, advancing to begin the onſet, met with a ditch, that diſordered her ſquadrons as they paſſed it. Being perſuaded the enemy would not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of falling upon them, I cauſed four more ſquadrons to advance and ſuſtain them. Nevertheleſs, the foremoſt of their forces, far from taking advantage of this little confuſion, only made one ſingle diſcharge of their ſmall arms, as if for form's ſake, and betook themſelves to flight; after which, the two firſt ſquadrons turned their backs, without firing ſo much as one piſtol. Hereupon, the regiment of

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Salviati, redoubling their courage at the flight of the enemy, as it generally happens, purſued after them full gallop. This raſhneſs alarmed me conſiderably; for I was immediately ſatisfied it was only a feint of the enemy's, to draw us into a defile, where they had placed about twelve ſquadrons; wherefore I flew with the ſquadron of my right, at whoſe head I was, in order to ſupport them when they ſhould be repulſed. What I had foreſeen came to paſs; four freſh ſquadrons of the enemy wheel about on a ſudden, and charge the regiment of *Salviati* in the flank, whilſt four others wait to receive them and prevent their retreat: in effect, they drove them before them about two hundred paces. Finding then, that the whole ſtorm was going to fall upon my poor ſpouſe, and perceiving there were but two ſquadrons with me, I wheeled off to the right, where the ground was wider, and formed as it were an angle on the ſide of the enemy's: this done, I cauſed my ſquadrons to make a half-wheel, in order to face the road, and at the ſame time leave it free for *Salviati*'s three broken ſquadrons. I then take the enemy in flank, and the *Swiſs Acher* rallying his ſquadrons at the ſame juncture, made them fire ſo ſeaſonably, that I believe not one ſhot was ineffectual. That inſtant all engage; and my wife's horſe, which had been wounded, fell dead under her: nevertheleſs, I ſaw her diſengage herſelf from it like lightning; and, before I can fly to her aſſiſtance, ſhe ſhoots through the head a *Huſſar* officer, whoſe arm was upliſted to diſcharge upon her a ſtroke with his ſabre; then, on his falling to the ground, leaps with incredible agility upon his horſe, and opens herſelf a way, ſcymiter in hand, thro' the enemies wherewith I was ſurrounded, places herſelf at my ſide, and wards off a ſtroke with a ſabre of a *Coſſack*, which would have deprived me of life; ſo that I eſcaped

eſcaped only with a wound, which, though conſiderable, was not very dangerous.

I muſt own ſuch uncommon intrepidity and addreſs in a woman, but little accuſtomed to ſuch kind of expeditions, aſtoniſhed me inexpreſſibly; and, in effect, her regiment, being witneſſes to ſo extraordinary an action, were animated with double courage, which partly cauſed the defeat of the enemy; great numbers of whom were killed, and five hundred taken priſoners, whilſt the reſt fled away for refuge to the mountains. We loſt, on this occaſion, about three hundred men. My wife had a ſlight contuſion in the ſhoulder, which a ball had grazed upon; and myſelf a pretty deep cut in the head. About noon we returned to our camp, where we continued a month without action, on account of my wound, which cauſed me moſt exquiſite pain. Mean while, ſince my having taken the field, I had not received the leaſt relief from the *Porte*; neither, though I had written ſeveral letters to the *Grand Vizier*, had I any anſwer. This ſilence gave me ſome uneaſineſs; and the more, becauſe ſome officers of the other army, who came on pretence of viſiting their friends, inveigled my beſt ſoldiers from me, by little and little. I was alſo ſatisfied, that the chief of the white eunuchs, who was not in my intereſt, did me ill offices: I was amazed, however, that the *Grand Vizier*, knowing me ſo well as he did, ſhould let theſe ill offices make any impreſſion upon him. In effect, it was not theſe alone that did me a prejudice; the *Under Vizier*, who was alſo high treaſurer, had inſpired him with jealouſy of me; wherefore, he would not put it in my power, to perform too ſhining actions. In ſhort, he foreſaw his own diſgrace approaching, and was deſirous of ſupporting himſelf at the expence of my

fortune and advancement; but I was not apprized of this till ſome months after.

The *Kaimakan*, my friend, to whom I had ſent my complaints, together with a circumſtantial journal of my conduct ſince my departure from *Conſtantinople*, wrote me word, that he had come to high words with the *Under Vizier* on my account, and that they had even proceeded to threatnings and reproaches. He added, that the *Sultan* hardly durſt oppoſe his ſentiments, and had therefore bid him exhort me to patience; that the face of affairs might ſoon change; that, nevertheleſs, he foreſaw I ſhould have many mortifications to undergo in this war; that the little victory I had gained had put all my enemies in motion, as fearing my reputation might raiſe me to the higheſt employments to their prejudice; and that the *Grand Vizier* was at the army.

It is your buſineſs, dear *Baſſa*, (ſaid he, at the concluſion of his letter) to concert your meaſures ſo wiſely, that you may be able to ſupport yourſelf, without any other aſſiſtance than that of your own induſtry. This very diſagreeable news determined me to put all to the hazard, in order to ſubſiſt my troops, and appeaſe their murmurs. With this view then I formed the deſign of leading them to plunder in the very heart of *Hungary*; and I managed matters ſo well, that I entirely ſtripped ſix villages, and two large towns, which enabled me to ſupport myſelf during this firſt campaign; but then I alſo expoſed myſelf to infinite hazards. In effect, a body of eighteen thouſand *Germans*, all hardy veterans, and inured to the wars, were ſent to ſtop up all the paſſes, when I ſhould make my retreat; it became neceſſary, therefore, to come to blows with thoſe brave fellows, and I do not think I ever ſaw ſo ſharp an engagement. The caſe was, to ſave my troops

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in the midſt of an enemy's country, where I ſhould have been harraſſed on all ſides, both by the regular forces, and the peaſants; ſo that inſenſibly I ſhould have been rendered unable to attempt opening myſelf a way back again, and to return to the neighbourhood of the *Danube*. In the mean while, I paſſed and repaſſed the *Teiſſe*, near to *Zolnock*, in the ſight of the *Germans*; but ſcarce had I arrived at the defiles in the mountains, when they began to harraſs my rear-guard continually. Finding myſelf then expoſed to all the ſtorm, I diſpoſed the march of my little army in ſuch a manner, that it was ſecured from inſults. Its order was as follows:

Two ordinary guards of fifty horſe.

A hundred dragoons, with a cart, that held our neceſſary tools.

Three ſquadrons of the main guard, the laſt of which was of *Salviati*'s regiment.

Three hundred horſe, commanded by a colonel.

The dragoons, at the head of the cavalry of the firſt line of the left wing.

Six pieces of cannon, with their ammunition.

The reſt of the cavalry.

Then followed the ſecond line of the left wing of the cavalry, the firſt ſquadron of which was of *Salviati*'s regiment.

The reſt of the infantry of the firſt line.

The reſt of the cannon, with their ammunition.

Half the infantry.

The *corps de reſerve* was commanded by one of my *Germans*.

The infantry of the ſecond line, excepting one battallion, which was in the rear of the laſt regiment of the ſecond line.

The firſt and ſecond line of the right wing, with a battalion in their rear.

All the baggage horſes marched in two ſquadrons, and were followed by the reſt of the troops; then the carts and waggons, guarded by one battalion and two ſquadrons.

I have here ſet down the order of our march, only to ſhew that we were in an incloſed country, and in roads lined with water-gangs, or ditches full of a running ſtream, on the right and left. We marched on then, without altering this order in any manner, almoſt five weeks. On receiving intelligence of my retreat, the *Germans* had encamped behind ſome riſing grounds, and I had only juſt time to draw up my men, before they attacked me. Having found a brow of a hill, very fit for erecting two batteries thereon, I cauſed my cannon to be placed there with the utmoſt diligence; and ten or twelve diſcharges, very ſeaſonably made, thinned the ranks of the enemy's cavalry greatly, and put them into diſorder. I had formed ſeven lines of my ſquadrons, becauſe the riſing grounds on my right and left allowed only room to place one ſquadron in front. Ten paces before the firſt ſquadron of *Salviati*'s regiment, at the head whereof my ſpouſe was herſelf, marched two ſmall bodies of infantry. Between theſe, and another regiment which was in the rear of that ſquadron, I had placed four pieces of ſmall cannon, to uſe them as occaſion ſhould require. We purſued our march thus ſlowly, till a little after, when having made ſome reflections, I cauſed a regiment of foot to wheel off to my right, beyond the ditches, in order to fire upon the flank of part of the enemy's horſe. In ſhort, after a very bloody engagement for two hours, I opened myſelf a way through them, nor did any one afterwards attempt to diſpute my paſſage. I can truly ſay, my dear *Salviati* behaved with aſtoniſhing valour on this occaſion, being always attend-

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ed by her faithful *Acher*. Nay, when the battle was over, ſhe flew in purſuit of the enemy, and within an hour brought off two ſquadrons, who had fortified themſelves in a narrow paſs, after a ſecond diſpute, no leſs obſtinate than the former; but as ſoon as ſhe had preſented the officers to me, ſhe obliged me to let them go upon their parole. Being then equally acquainted with the generoſity and ſex of their conqueror, they extolled her bravery and merit to the higheſt degree.

After this expedition, I hardly did any thing the reſt of the campaign. The ſecond year, my troops diſbanded for want of their pay; and as I was dangerouſly wounded in the thigh, I removed to *Adrianople*; from whence, after being cured, I ſet out for the *Porte*, to concert proper meaſures for retaking the field; having left to the two *Swiſs* the care of the remains of my army, which conſiſted of between four and five thouſand men. As ſoon as I had reached *Conſtantinople*, I went directly to the *Kaimakan*, that he might apprize the *Sultan* of my arrival. He told me two days after, his highneſs was very well ſatisfied with my conduct, and had reſolved to ſend me to command the main army, but that I muſt wait yet ſome time. He then confeſſed to me privately, that *Mahomet* was going to recal the *Grand Vizier*, and that he believed his diſgrace inevitable. Hereupon I engaged this dear friend to deſire a ſecret audience for me of the *Sultan*, and next day he ſent me word it was granted, but the time was not fixed; in effect, it was above a fortnight before I heard any more about it. At laſt, his highneſs ordered the *Kaimakan* to bring me to great *Kiosk*, after evening prayer; and as this interview was attended with ſome circumſtances of conſiderable importance, I will here give an account thereof.

" I am come, ſaid I to the *Sultan*, to render my " moſt humble thanks to your auguſt majeſty, moſt " ſublime and moſt invincible emperor of the faith- " ful muſſelmen, worthy ſucceſſor of the great pro- " phet, that you have been willing to approve the " reaſons which have forced me to humble myſelf " before your aweful throne, and are ſatisfied with " my conduct. Yes, *Baſſa Bonneval*, anſwered his " highneſs, with an open countenance, I know the " malice of your enemies; but you ſhall be revenged. " I am tranſported with joy, moſt gracious empe- " ror, replied I; above two years I have done no- " thing but languiſh; your *Grand Vizier* has cauſed " the deſtruction of my army, for which I had taken " ſo much pains; his jealouſy, and ſordid avarice, " has excited a revolt amongſt my troops, which " was near coſting me my life; and indeed I would " rather actually ſuffer death, than be expoſed to ſuch " misfortunes and diſappointments:" this ſaid, the tears came into my eyes.

The *Sultan*, ſeeing me ſo much concerned, ſeemed moved himſelf, and told me; " I ſhall look upon " you now as one of the principal ſupports of my " empire; but ſwear to me that you will be diſcreet, " and execute faithfully what I am going to enjoin " you." I want fidelity and diſcretion, in what re- " lates to your highneſs! cried I; I would ſacrifice " a thouſand lives, were they in my power, rather " than neglect, in the leaſt, the performance of your " ſacred commands. Well, then, continued he, " prepare to ſet out in about a fortnight; chuſe from " amongſt my guards four thouſand *Janizaries*, and " as many *Spahi's*; and ſend an expreſs to your of- " ficers, with orders to draw together the reſt of " your troops, and lead them to *Chiourlich*; *(this* " *is a village on the road to* ADRIANOPLE, *about* " *twenty-*

" *twenty-five leagues from* CONSTANTINOPLE) and " the night before your departure, I will put into " your hands a *Fetfa*, to arreſt the *Grand Vizier* as " he paſſes by. But this will require abundance of " caution, addreſs, and courage; for, as he has ſome " miſtruſt, he will have a ſtrong convoy: neverthe- " leſs, I rely upon you for the execution of this com- " miſſion." This ſaid, he diſmiſſed me.

It may eaſily be judged, that this confidence repoſed in me by the *Sultan*, gave me ſo exceſſive a joy and pleaſure, that it was with difficulty I reſtrained my tranſports and acknowledgments for it; and I reliſhed this pleaſure the more, as I had not the leaſt expectation of it. A ſmall favour, received when one has no thoughts of it, ſupplies the place of a great one, and is looked upon as ſomewhat conſiderable: I leave my readers therefore to judge, whether I was in the wrong to think as I did, that I ſhould arrive at the higheſt dignities and fortune. Nevertheleſs, this particular diſtinction of the *Sultan*'s proved itſelf an obſtacle to my preferment. All the courtiers united againſt me, and declared openly, they would never ſubmit to my command; in a word, they in a manner forced the emperor to conclude a peace, and to baniſh me: But, before I relate theſe two occurrences, I muſt give an account of all that happened previouſly thereto.

On coming away from this audience, I engaged my dear friend the *Kaimakan* to ſpend the next day with me at my houſe, that we might conſult together about taking proper meaſures to execute the orders of his highneſs. He adviſed me by no means to make a ſecret of it to my wife, being equally ſatisfied of her diſcretion, and of her courage: but ſcarce had my dear *Salviati* heard the news, when ſhe fell into a deep ſtudy. Surprized at the kind of ſtupefaction wherewith ſhe ſeemed ſeized, What!

my dear ſpouſe, cried I, methinks you appear concerned at the *Vizier*'s diſgrace! can you be affected with his downfal, after all the misfortunes he has cauſed us? No, my dear count, anſwered ſhe, it is not ſo much his being diſplaced, that has given riſe to the thoughts which at preſent perplex me, as the conſequences that will enſue from thence. This affair ſeems to me extremely tickliſh, and makes me apprehend ſome fatal accident: and I will even own ingenuouſly, that, notwithſtanding the ill uſage and vexation we have met with from this miniſter, I cannot help pitying him. The life of man is ſubject to ſo many evils, misfortunes, and croſſes, that it would almoſt always be waſted away in trouble and ſorrow, were there not ſomebody to ſympathize with his afflictions, and to endeavour to lighten the burthen. The different ties that ſubſiſt amongſt mankind, engage us to concern ourſelves about what affects them; even ſelf-love, which generally corrupts all the good we do, makes us ſenſible of the misfortunes of our neighbour, and inſpires us with the deſire of relieving him, not ſo much for his ſake, as for our own: For, if we reflect ever ſo little upon the uncertainty of all ſublunary things, we ſee the moſt wealthy impoveriſhed in a ſhort time, by the ugly ſcrapes with which they meet; we find the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt healthy, ſeized with long and incurable diſtempers, when they think the leaſt of it; and we may obſerve, that the moſt happy, and the greateſt favourites of fortune, become often the objects of the public hatred. Theſe conſiderations alone incline us to pity and aſſiſt the wretched, that the ſame regard may be ſhewn to us, ſhould the ſame accidents befal us, and ſhould our fortune change. Self-love alone then prompts us to ſympathize with the misfortunes of our neighbour. Another reflection alſo makes ſome impreſſion upon me.

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The *Grand Vizier* has abundance who are his creatures, and owe their fortunes to him; theſe ſelf-intereſted friends will combine together in his behalf, and will form a very conſiderable party; and as this party will not be able to revenge themſelves upon the *Sultan* himſelf, all their malice will be directed againſt you. The emperor, though abſolute maſter of all, cannot ſupport his authority, unleſs he is aſſiſted by his principal officers, and all theſe officers will heartily eſpouſe the cauſe of the firſt miniſter, and will form a cabal which may become fatal to you: It is not therefore his diſgrace only that affects me, but the commiſſion his highneſs has given you. I know very well, the only courſe you can take, is to obey; but then your obedience muſt be attended with the utmoſt prudence, that you may not be accuſed of having inſpired the *Sultan* with this deſign. My advice therefore is, that you ſhould leave the execution of this order to me; I will conceal myſelf in the village of *Chiourlich*, with the two *Chiaoux*, and as ſoon as I am informed the *Grand Vizier* is in the tent that will be prepared for him, I will preſent the *Fetfa* to him, and demand his ſcymeter. In a word, rely upon me for the whole iſſue of this affair.

The *Kaimakan* being come to my houſe, as he had promiſed, I acquainted him with my wife's apprehenſions, and he allowed her reaſoning was juſt and prudent: It was therefore concluded to leave to her the management of this weighty buſineſs. At a fortnight's end, every thing being ready for my departure, the regiment of *Salviati*, which had ſerved as our convoy, and was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, began to file off, to form the vanguard; after which followed the *Janizaries*, and the *Spahis* compoſed the rear-guard.

Being

Being arrived at *Chiourlich*, I cauſed lines to be made, in order to ſecure my camp from inſults. It was covered on both ſides by a ſmall rapid ſtream, and ſome rocks, on whoſe ſummits were placed twelve pieces of cannon: there were alſo in the front two little batteries that commanded the country, ſo that I was in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege in form, and to oppoſe an army of thirty thouſand men. This done, a noble tent was prepared for the reception of the *Vizier*, and, in ſhort, all was ready and in order at the end of three weeks. Already I began to be uneaſy about his arrival, when word was brought me, that he had taken another road upon the right; whereupon, my dear *Salviati*, who had the order ſigned by the *Mufti*, mounted her horſe at the head of a ſquadron of her regiment, on pretence of going a hunting. In ſcouring the country, ſhe diſcovered a kind of camp upon the ſide of a large brook, about a league from mine; and the richneſs of the tents left her no room to doubt of the *Vizier*'s being there: Upon which, ſhe immediately diſpatched an expreſs to me with this news; as alſo to acquaint me, that the convoy of this miniſter did not ſeem to exceed four thouſand men, which gave me abundance of pleaſure. After ſome moments conſideration, ſhe concealed the *Chiaoux*, together with her ſquadron, in a defile between the mountains, and advanced with only three of her officers to wait upon the *Vizier*. This prime miniſter, who had heard a very extraordinary account of her military exploits, (for it is a kind of prodigy in *Turkey*, to ſee a woman at the head of a regiment) being informed ſhe was deſirous of the honour of paying her reſpects to him, had a mind to view this ſort of heroine; and accordingly gave orders immediately for introducing her into his tent. As ſoon as ſhe came into his pre-

ſence, he was ſo charmed with her compliments and behaviour, that he promiſed to come and view my camp. It would be a ſenſible mortification, ſaid ſhe, to my ſpouſe, not to have the honour of paying you the reſpects due to you; and I ſhall always congratulate myſelf upon having procured him this honour, ſince you aſſure me it is in complaiſance to me.

Fully believing he would readily fall into this ſnare, ſhe diſpatched one of her officers to bid me prepare, within an hour, to receive a viſit from the *Vizier*: Nevertheleſs, there happened a misfortune, which, one would have thought, ſhould of courſe have cauſed our ſcheme to miſcarry; but, on the contrary, it contributed towards rendering it the more ſucceſsful. So true it is, that chance generally determines all the affairs of life; and that human prudence finds the beſt concerted deſigns become proſperous or abortive, by ſuch means alone as it could not poſſibly foreſee.

My wife had neglected informing the *Chiaoux* of the *Vizier*'s reſolution; thoſe officers, therefore, being uneaſy at her too long abſence, were preparing to come in ſearch of her with the ſquadron: Mean while, the firſt miniſter had already ſet out from his camp, with his principal commanders; but ſeeing this party of horſe follow him full ſpeed, he conceived ſome miſtruſt, ſo that he cauſed his men to halt that inſtant. My dear *Salviati* imagined his deſign, and accordingly made a ſign to *Acher*, who attended her, to come and apprize me of this diſappointment; whereupon, *Acher*, who was abſolutely a ſtranger to my orders to arreſt the *Vizier*, ſlips away, very uneaſy, and informs me of what paſſed. This news gave me ſome concern; wherefore I reſolved to intercept him in his march, if he attempted to turn back again. Whilſt he continued in ſuſpence, I know not by what fatal accident, a muſquet-ſhot glanced againſt the neck of my wife's horſe; upon which,

which the poor beaſt, feeling himſelf wounded, took the bit in his teeth, and brought her away with incredible ſpeed towards my camp. The *Grand Vizier*, frightened at the danger to which ſhe was expoſed, ſpurred after her full gallop, and all his retinue following him, they arrived at my camp, juſt as I was preparing to ſend ſix ſquadrons of horſe to carry them off. My wife's horſe being quite ſpent, fell down dead, in endeavouring to break through a ſquadron that was drawn up very cloſe, inſomuch that ſhe had an arm broken on this occaſion: finding her, therefore, unable to execute the orders of his highneſs, I had her carried into her tent, and went afterwards to pay my reſpects to the *Grand Vizier*, who ſeemed to me very eaſy. In effect, the honours I cauſed to be ſhewn him abſolutely baniſhed all miſtruſt from his mind: continual diſcharges of the cannon and ſmall-arms were made for ſix hours; and in the evening, during a magnificent ſupper that I had cauſed to be got for him, theſe rejoicings were begun again, and laſted till very late at night. I then ordered the guards to be doubled, and had the *Grand Vizier*'s tent ſurrounded with three ſquadrons of the regiment of *Salviati*, on pretence of their ſerving him as his guard.

As ſoon as he had diſmiſſed his officers, to enjoy the ſweets of reſt, before my taking leave of him, I prepared him, by a ſhort ſpeech, to receive the orders of his highneſs with ſubmiſſion; and what follows is, within a little, what my eloquence ſuggeſted to me on this occaſion. "Illuſtrious and "much to be reſpected *Vizier*, the envy which your "great qualities has cauſed, had procured you irre-"concileable enemies. Such extraordinary merit as "raiſes one man above the rank of the generality of "mankind, is ſcarcely ever pardoned; and it is with "the utmoſt reluctance and concern, I am command-

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" ed to let you know, that they who repine at your " glory, have prepoſſeſſed the *Sultan*, your auguſt " ſovereign and mine, againſt you. They have ac- " cuſed you of oppreſſion, and many other crimes; " inſomuch that the people demand your life; and " as his highneſs has ſtill a kindneſs for you, it is " undoubtedly for your preſervation, he has ordered " me to carry you to the caſtle of the *ſeven towers*. " I hope it will be eaſy for you to juſtify yourſelf; " and for my part, will leave nothing undone to in- " duce the emperor to render you all the juſtice you " deſerve."

This ſaid, I preſented him with the *Fetfa*, which he kiſſed, and laid to his forehead, as a certain ſign of his ſubmiſſion: nevertheleſs, he could not help ſhedding tears when he delivered me his ſcymeter, and told me, I am amazed that *Baſſa Bonneval*, whom I have always diſtinguiſhed by a ſincere good-will, ſhould undertake ſuch a commiſſion; or, at leaſt, that he ſhould not have ſent me notice of it: on the contrary, he has betrayed me, and this treachery affects me more than my diſgrace; but my friends will, perhaps, find the means to revenge me. This ſaid, inſtead of taking any reſt, he only employed himſelf in breathing out a thouſand invectives and execrations againſt his highneſs and the *Kaimakan*.

Next morning, at break of day, I ordered the trumpets to ſound to horſe; and the *Vizier*'s attendants being informed I had arreſted him by the *Grand Seignior*'s order, diſperſed themſelves in an inſtant. All his friends forſook him; there was not ſo much as one, I ſay not ſo much as one, who ſeemed touched at his downfal. I muſt confeſs this behaviour cauſed me to make very ſerious reflections; and I then became perfectly ſenſible, that adverſity carries with it a ſort of contagion, which induces men

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to fly the unfortunate, and devote themſelves to thoſe on whom the blind goddeſs ſeems to ſmile. This I alſo experienced ſoon after in my turn; my beſt friends, my boſom companions, who were warmeſt in their profeſſions of good-will, did nothing to extricate me from my troubles; but many of them betrayed me, in order to gain by my misfortunes, and make their court at my expence.

After leaving the care of my camp to the *Swiſs Acher*, and deſiring him to have my dear *Salviati*, who underwent the moſt exquiſite pain, conveyed ſafely to *Conſtantinople*, I put myſelf at the head of the *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, to conduct the *Grand Vizier* to the *ſeven towers:* mean while, this miniſter ſpoke not a ſingle word, but would eat alone, and in private. I believe it will not be taken amiſs, if I here draw his picture in miniature. He was about ſeventy, of a diſagreeable look, tall, but fat, and pretty luſty. He had ſomewhat fierce and ſavage in his countenance, that ſtruck people with horror. Though ſordidly avaritious, he behaved with haughtineſs, and was full of artifice. He was of few words, and of a moroſe temper. Being the ſon of a corſair, he had been uſed, from his moſt tender infancy, to plundering and the ſight of bloodſhed; inſomuch that rapine and extortion ſeemed in him vices that were in a manner inherent. He had an innate averſion for arms and war; he was ſober and frugal at his table; negligent in his dreſs, even ſo far as, in ſome meaſure, to diſregard decency. He counterfeited piety and devotion, but it was ſuſpected that fear rendered him an hypocrite. It was from this ſame principle of puſilanimity, that his diſſimulation proceeded, and it was in this his whole policy conſiſted. An ill-judged love of peace had induced him to make ſcandalous advances to *Kouli Khan*, and ſuch as were contrary to the glory and welfare

welfare of the empire. His timorous and ſelfiſh temper had cauſed him to be deſpiſed extremely.

Scarcely had he been arreſted, before he appeared as mean-ſpirited in adverſity, as he had been haughty and preſumptuous in proſperity. Nevertheleſs, he flattered himſelf that his creatures would raiſe inſurrections to reſtore him to his poſt, but he was deceived in his hopes; inſomuch that, after having ſtaid fifteen days in the caſtle of the *ſeven towers*, he was removed to *Georgia*, where he died, two months after his arrival in that country. The ſecrets of providence are ſo unſearchable, that it would be raſh to judge of the conſcience of men by the good or evil that happens to them here; for as it is certain, that adverſity is ſometimes a divine infliction for miſbehaviour, ſo undoubtedly it is alſo ſometimes the touchſtone of virtue, and a means of weaning us from the world. In effect, we every day ſee good men miſerable, and profligates happy; but what we cannot be miſtaken in is, in judging by actions. The *Grand Vizier* had ſo publickly expoſed juſtice to ſale, and preferred his own infamous avarice to the true intereſt and glory of the empire, that his diſgrace, baniſhment, and death, which (as was given out, though it is not certain) he underwent by being ſtrangled upon the road, may ſerve as an example to others, and be reckoned as the puniſhment of heaven. I may truly affirm, that I did my utmoſt to ſave him, but the crimes laid to his charge were too enormous, and too ſcandalous; and it is certain, the populace would have torn him in pieces, had he fallen into their hands. This cataſtrophe did not cauſe any tumult; revolutions of this kind happen ſo frequently at the *Ottoman Porte*, that ſcarce any one is ſurprized thereat.

As ſoon as I had delivered up this miniſter to the governor of the *ſeven towers*, I went to the *Seraglio*,

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to render an account of my conduct. The *Sultan*, being informed of the ſucceſs of this expedition, waited for me with great impatience in the chamber of the *Divan*, together with all the officers, who had ſo baſely abandoned the *Vizier*, the moment he was arreſted. After having given him a faithful and circumſtantial account of every particular, he careſſed me, extolled my courage and prudence, and aſſured me of his entire favour: this drew upon me many congratulations from theſe falſe friends; but I deſpiſed them too much to vouchſafe them any anſwer, which was what ſet them all againſt me. The news of the *Sultan*'s having ſo much diſtinguiſhed me being ſpread abroad, one might have ſeen an extraordinary concourſe of people of all conditions, who came to make their court to me: there was then no viſible difference, between my friends, my enemies, and thoſe who were indifferent, every one ſpeaking and acting alike; we ſhall ſoon ſee whether their behaviour to me did not alter.

Four days after the diſgrace of the *Grand Vizier*, a general *Divan* was called, to examine into the complaints brought againſt him; and he was almoſt unanimouſly agreed to be guilty of high treaſon; nevertheleſs, the *Sultan* granted him his life, on condition of his being baniſhed to *Georgia*. This done, the *Kaimakan* was propoſed to ſucceed him in his place; than which nothing could have been more agreeable to my expectations, as he was my particular friend. Beſides, his ſincere attachment to his highneſs, and to the glory of the empire; his natural capacity, improved by a long experience; his courage without oſtentation, which the exigencies and circumſtances of the enterprizes, wherein he had been employed, had ſometimes tranſported him beyond the bounds of prudence, to a kind of raſhneſs; his concern about the ſucceſs of every thing,

thing, that might any ways relate to the public welfare; and his charity in ſympathizing with the misfortunes of the unhappy; all theſe, we ſay, rendered him very proper to govern this vaſt empire. But neither promiſes, nor threats, nor any thing could move him to accept of this ſo conſiderable a poſt; inſomuch, that they named a *Baſſa*, who was not one of my friends, and who ſtrongly oppoſed all the favours the *Sultan* was willing to confer upon me. Nevertheleſs, he diſſembled his ill-will ſo artfully, that I was not at all aware thereof, until he had executed his purpoſe.

About two months after his election, the *Sultan* propoſed to the *Divan*, to ſend me to command the army under his orders; whereupon this new miniſter loaded me with careſſes, aſſuring me, I ſhould be abſolutely maſter of all the troops; and that he would only act according to my advice. I am ſo fully perſuaded of your bravery and capacity, added he, that I do not at all doubt the glory of our arms, as ſoon as you ſhall be at the head of our troops. At the ſame time, he ordered the treaſurer to ſend me a conſiderable ſum, in order to furniſh me with an equipage, and enable me to ſupport myſelf with great magnificence during our campaign.

But all this ſhew of friendſhip was only to deceive me, and conceal the ill offices he deſigned to do me. In effect, whilſt I was preparing all things to be in readineſs to attend him to the army, he ſent circular letters to all the officers, to induce them to oppoſe my advancement; and to incite them to make the *Janizaries* revolt, in caſe the *Sultan* continued fixed in his reſolution. Judge then of my aſtoniſhment, on being told an expreſs was arrived from the army, who brought a petition

to his highneſs, ſigned by all the officers, wherein they declared in plain terms, that all the ſoldiers were ready to mutiny, and commit the greateſt diſorders; that they abſolutely would not obey the *Baſſa Bonneval*; and that in caſe he ſhould be ſent to command them, all the troops would return to *Conſtantinople*: after which they preferred againſt me ſeveral articles of complaint, which ſhall be ſoon ſpecified.

Mean while, the *Grand Vizier*, continuing his diſſimulation with great art, ſeemed inconſolable at this diſappointment, and exhorted me to patience. I am about to ſet out for the army, ſaid he, with an hypocritical air, where be aſſured I will uſe my utmoſt endeavours to ſerve you; and will leave nothing undone, to gain over the chief officers to your intereſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe proteſtations, I was heartily vexed within myſelf; and certain mortifying reflections plunged me into a deep melancholy; inſomuch, that had it not been for my wife, I had undoubtedly ſunk under my ſorrow; but the ſentiments, with which my dear *Salviati* inſpired me every moment, made me at laſt get the better of this vexatious diſappointment. "Be comforted, dear huſband, ſaid ſhe continually, "and curb that inſatiable deſire of glory, that preys "upon you; by conſidering, that within a ſhort "time your courſe will be finiſhed: life is ſo ſhort of "itſelf, that it is not worth our while to be impa- "tient at any croſſes. This is indeed but a wretched "comfort I muſt own; and the remedy is worſe "than the diſeaſe; nevertheleſs it produces it's ef- "fect, as well as this other reflection, which is "ſcarce a jot more agreeable; namely, what little "place we take up in this vaſt univerſe; and of "how very ſmall importance it is to the world,

"that

" that there is ſuch a one as count *Bonneval*, either " happy or unhappy.

" I know well, that for this ſhort moment that " life laſts, we are deſirous of enjoying proſperity; " but we ought to be ſatisfied nothing is more im- " poſſible: If you had not theſe croſſes at pre- " ſent, you would have others of a different kind. " Providence is ſo infinitely above us, that let us do " what we can, we muſt always reverence it's diſ- " penſations, and kiſs the hand that ſtrikes and " chaſtiſes us, for we continually deſerve puniſh- " ment. This conſideration will render any reaſo- " nable man truly happy.

" I cannot conceive how we can have a moment's " eaſe in this world, unleſs we reſign up every thing " to God, and to his will, to which we muſt abſo- " lutely ſubmit in all caſes. With this ſupport, " without which there is no living, we are endued " with ſufficient fortitude and conſtancy to bear the " greateſt diſaſters: In a word, without this reſigna- " tion of heart and mind, the wretched would be- " come furious lunaticks; whilſt, by the help there- " of, we continue perſons of probity, and enjoy " tranquillity in the midſt of ſtorms.

" Notwithſtanding we are not abſolutely inſenſible " of our misfortunes, conſtancy and ſubmiſſion ſoon " reſtore a man to himſelf. Did not I foretell you, " that the *Grand Vizier*'s fall would ſtir up all the " great officers againſt you, and would create you " grievous vexations? Bear up then under all theſe " croſſes, with that courage and magnanimity " which forms a hero. You are eſteemed and " beloved by the *Sultan*; you poſſeſs his favour; " be ruled then by me, and remain quiet at your " own houſe: your ſolitude is delightful; you " want nothing; you live in an affluence that " leaves you nothing to wiſh; why therefore ſhould

" you torment yourſelf for vain *Chimeras*? Is it " not ſufficient that his Highneſs knows your good " intentions? Be aſſured when he can ſafely raiſe " you to a diſtinguiſhed poſt, he will certainly do " it."

Fully convinced of the wiſdom of theſe arguments, I ſtruggled with myſelf to ſuppreſs that ambition, which ſo ſtrongly reigned within me; and accuſtomed myſelf by degrees, to employ my time about a thouſand trifles, in order to baniſh idleneſs. Nevertheleſs, when I thought of it the leaſt, the *Sultan* ſent for me, told me he was maſter, and that he was abſolutely reſolved I ſhould go and command his troops; adding, that if I met with any oppoſition, he ſhould know how to chaſtiſe the rebels ſo ſeverely, that the fear of puniſhment ſhould keep them in their duty. It became neceſſary, therefore, to prepare for my departure; but, though my dear *Salviati* was entirely recovered from her fall, ſhe could not accompany me, having for three months had ſome ſymptoms of being pregnant.

Mean while, ſcarce had the *Grand Vizier*, who was at the army, received this news, before he determined to put an end to the war, and to prefer a diſhonourable peace, to the mortification the ſeeing me ſo advanced, would have given his envious temper; inſomuch, that he ſent me word by a *Janizary*, whom he diſpatched expreſsly for that purpoſe, and who met me at *Adrianople*, that the articles were agreed on; pretending he had done this in regard to me, and to ſpare me the fatigues of ſo long a journey.

This exceſſive civility of the *Grand Vizier* ſeemed to me very much to be diſtruſted; and made me conclude my preſence was not agreeable to him in a place, where I might eaſily have diſcovered his hypocri-

hypocritical behaviour in relation to me: far, therefore, from regarding the advice he had given me, I reſolved on the contrary to purſue my journey; and accordingly ordered my attendants to prepare relays every four leagues, that I might reach the army the ſooner.

Hereupon, the *Janizary*, from whom I did not at all conceal my deſign, vexed at my obſtinacy, ſaid, *Baſſa Bonneval*, may I venture to give a piece of advice? What is it, anſwered I, ſpeak? Well then, cryed he, be ruled by me, and ſtay at *Adrianople*; for I much fear your life will not be ſafe amongſt the ſoldiers. This ſaid, he acquainted me with all the artifices of the prime miniſter, telling me what he had both written and done, to incite the officers to refuſe obeying me.

It may eaſily be believed, that at this news my vexation was as great as it was juſt: from that moment, therefore, my whole thoughts were bent upon revenge. A diſſimulation, carried to ſuch a length, ſeemed to me an outragious inſult upon my honour and reputation: full of indignation, I cryed out, therefore I muſt either have his blood, or he mine! Hereupon, having engaged the *Janizary*, by a conſiderable preſent, to go on to *Conſtantinople*, and to give out that he had not met me, to acquaint me with the *Vizier*'s meſſage, I ſet out for the camp, arrive there the fourth day, and fly with the greateſt ſpeed to the prime miniſter's tent. My unforeſeen arrival confounded this artful hypocrite; he aſked me therefore with ſome haſte and uneaſineſs, whether I had not met a *Janizary*, whom he had diſpatched to me, both to acquaint me with the peace, and to ſave me the fatigue of ſo long and tireſome a journey? This ſaid, he redoubled in a manner his falſe careſſes, and his eagerneſs to have

all thoſe honours ſhewn me, which I deſerved, as he ſaid, ſo juſtly.

Such treacherous dealing nettled me to the quick; I loaded him therefore with reproaches, in terms not very full of reſpect, and leaving him abruptly, ſent him a challenge, which he was far from accepting: on the contrary, he made a handle thereof, to put me under an arreſt. Two days after, he ordered me away for *Conſtantinople*, with a ſtrong guard; and tranſmitted to the *Sultan* a memorial full of accuſations.

His highneſs, being informed by the *Kaimakan*, for whom I had ſent, of the juſt motives I had to be wanting in reſpect to the *Vizier*, cauſed me to be releaſed, and aſſigned me my own houſe for a priſon; letting me know, at the ſame time, by that governor, that he was ſorry for my diſgrace, but could not avoid acting in that manner, on account of the challenge I had ſigned, without which the *Vizier* could not have hurt me.

This affair, continued the *Kaimakan*, is of the utmoſt importance; you have behaved, dear *Baſſa*, with great precipitation; ſuch an offence, according to our laws, deſerves death. I know very well, the *Sultan* has too great a value for you, not to ſpare your life; wherefore, I have no reaſon to be in pain for your ſafety; make yourſelf eaſy then, dear friend, 'till the *Vizier*'s return, and rely upon my care for ſecuring you from his unjuſt attempts: I will take ſuch proper meaſures, that I will ſkreen you from whatever deſigns he may form againſt you.

My wife, ſurprized at my unexpected arrival, and at my kind of confinement, was ſtruck ſpeechleſs; my trouble filled her with ſtrange thoughts; and as ſoon as I had acquainted her with the whole affair, ſhe ſeemed quite inconſolable. She did

did nothing but reflect all night upon the circumſtances of my adventure; nor would her tender concern for me ſuffer her to take any reſt. Fatal glory, tyrannic ambition, cryed ſhe out frequently, why doſt thou thus prey upon the heart of man! Ah! what melancholy apprehenſions has my pure and ſincere love cauſed, and ſtill continues to cauſe me!

Some days after, the *Sultan*, always ready to give me proofs of his good will, ſent me by the *Kaimakan* the articles of complaint preferred againſt me; that I might ſtudy what anſwers I ſhould make thereto, in the preſence of my accuſers, when ſummoned before the *Divan*. The chief of them were as follows:

The firſt and moſt heinous was the challenge ſent to the *Vizier*.

The ſecond, that having taken ſome *Germans* captive, I had releaſed them immediately, without ranſom.

The third, that ever ſince my being in *Turkey*, I had always kept up moſt intimate and friendly correſpondence, with the greateſt enemies of the empire. As proofs of this, they alledged my behaviour to the grand maſter of *Malta*, to whom I had ſent conſiderable preſents of the ſpoils taken from the *Arabs*, when I was in my government, and my friendſhip to the captive knights, whom I had reſtored to liberty.

The fourth was, that I had excited a combination amongſt all the *Chriſtian* embaſſadors, that reſided at the *Sublime Porte*, when the *Bailo* of *Venice* was put under an arreſt, on account of his inſolence.

The fifth was, that I ſecretly profeſſed the *Chriſtian* religion, and was never ſeen at the moſques.

The ſixth, that I employed almoſt all the riches, with which his highneſs of his great goodneſs had honoured me, in delivering *Chriſtians* from ſlavery.

In ſhort, the eighth was, that I had ſent back to *Venice*, one of the ladies of the *Seraglio*, whom the *Sultan* had done me the honour to give me for a wife; a crime, added they, which was a violation of all the laws of the empire. They then concluded upon the whole, that ſuch enormities, wherewith my character had been ſtained, ought not only to exclude me for ever from all offices and employments, but alſo each of them deſerved death.

I muſt acknowledge all theſe accuſations were true; wherefore, it was not my buſineſs to deny them, but to endeavour to extenuate their heinouſneſs, and repreſent them in a leſs odious light: accordingly I applied myſelf wholly to this; and before my anſwers were ſhewn to the *Divan*, I ſent them to his highneſs, who thought them ſufficient to clear me, or at leaſt to preſerve me from death, which my enemies demanded with great earneſtneſs. Nevertheleſs, the *Kaimakan* reſolved to uſe his endeavours with the *Grand Vizier*, to bring about a reconciliation between us, nor were his efforts vain; inſomuch, that we embraced each other, before I was called upon to juſtify myſelf.

Some days after, being ſummoned to appear before the *Divan*, I made the following ſpeech in my vindication.

"Generous and moſt valiant *Vizier*, and you in-
"vincible warriors, the ornament and glory of the
"*Ottoman* empire, I know not whether, of all the
"magnificent titles, which pride and vanity make
"the object of their deſires and purſuits, that of
"warrior is not the moſt pleaſing; ſince it always
"ſuppoſes that one has a genius, and an exalted
"mind, above the common rank of men; a flat-
"tering diſtinction, which no one rejects from his
"heart, and which ſelf-love, in thoſe extravagancies

"which

" which are ſo natural to it, ſeldom fails of aſcri-
" bing to itſelf.

" Already did I find myſelf incited by the deſire
" of ſharing with you in the nobleſt of your em-
" ployments, which is in reaping lawrels, and ſhed-
" ding my blood, to ſupport the wonderful exploits
" which you have performed under the reign of the
" moſt auguſt, and moſt formidable *Mahomet*; an
" admirable and happy reign, ſuch as the wiſdom
" of the great prophet had ſketched out, and de-
" ſigned for him! Why have not I, invincible
" warriors, a capacity ſufficiently extenſive to paint
" out thoſe amiable qualities which ſhine with ſo
" much luſtre in this great emperor! Why have
" not I expreſſions lively enough, to repreſent thoſe
" ſentiments of love and admiration, which his au-
" guſt name excites in your hearts, and which
" ſparkle out in your eyes, with ſo much ardour
" and ſincerity.

" I was preparing then to fly to his ſtandards, to
" admire your intrepid bravery, when on a ſudden,
" you oppoſed my deſire of glory. Some unjuſt
" prejudices, with which my enemies had prepoſ-
" ſeſſed you, have drawn upon me your hatred,
" and you thought, that being blackened with
" enormous crimes, I had rendered myſelf unwor-
" thy of ſharing in the honour of your victories.

" Being ſummoned to appear before you, and
" give an account of thoſe pretended ill actions,
" which have made me the object of your ſcorn and
" indignation, I am going, without any ſubterfuge,
" to convince you, that my behaviour has always
" been that of a man of honour, and of one very
" ſcrupulous in walking in the ways of probity and
" juſtice. Never was my reputation ſtained by any
" baſe action, whilſt I was in the ſervice of the
" princes of *Chriſtendom*, your enemies and mine.

" My

" My rank and my birth have always been ſupport-
" ed by a life without reproach; and it is with the
" greateſt concern I am forced to ſhew, that my
" pretended guilt is owing to nothing but an impla-
" cable hatred.

" Bred up from my moſt tender years not tamely
" to bear an inſult, and always very jealous of my
" honour; in a word, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with
" the opinion, that a brave man, and eſpecially a
" ſoldier, ought never to receive an affront, with-
" out venturing his life to exact ſatisfaction for it,
" I ſent a challenge to the potent and noble *Vizier*;
" he knows the reaſons. This is uſual amongſt the
" *Chriſtians*, wherefore I did not believe it repugnant
" to the laws of this empire; neither indeed when
" a man is abſolutely ignorant of any laws, is he
" reckoned guilty, though he happened to tranſ-
" greſs them inadvertently: from whence I conclude,
" the ſending the challenge is not a crime deſerving
" death, but rather an action worthy of praiſe;
" ſince it ſhews my honour is dearer to me than
" my blood. All mankind agree, they merit eſ-
" teem who deſpiſe life, (when honour obliges them
" to it) without ſhewing any ſign of fainthearted-
" neſs, or of too much ſollicitude to take care of
" themſelves.

" I am accuſed, in the ſecond place, of having
" releaſed ſome *German* priſoners without ranſom.
" Alas! illuſtrious warriors, did not I do the ſame
" by you, when I was in the ſervice of the emperor
" of the *Chriſtians?* There are three ſtill here who
" can bear witneſs of this. What! can ſuch a ge-
" nerous act be reckoned a crime? and have I only
" preſerved the lives of thoſe here preſent, that they
" might procure my death. I am ſatisfied, this
" whole illuſtrious aſſembly does not deem this a
" crime, nor even a ſlight offence.

" Thirdly,

" Thirdly, I am reproached with my correſpon-
" dence with the enemies of the empire, and my
" friendſhip to the *Grand Maſter* of *Malta*. Sup-
" poſe yourſelves in my place; does not one benefit
" ought to be requited with another? none of you
" are ignorant of the grand maſter's exceſſive gene-
" roſity to an amiable and unfortunate wife, who is
" very dear to me. Ought I to have been ſo un-
" grateful, not to give him proofs of my juſt gra-
" titude? and did not he make a handſome return
" for my preſents, by ſending you all the *Turkiſh*
" ſlaves, that were then captives in that iſland.

" The fourth accuſation falls of itſelf. Here are
" the certificates of the *Chriſtian* embaſſadors, at-
" teſting that I hardly concerned myſelf any ways
" in the affair of the *Bailo*. Beſides, had I la-
" boured earneſtly to obtain his pardon, did not
" the illuſtrious *Cornero*, at my requeſt, employ all
" his intereſt, to ſkreen *Ali-Zuffa*, here preſent,
" from the puniſhment of his criminal attempts up-
" on a noble *Venetian?* Nevertheleſs *Cornero* is
" one of the moſt illuſtrious members of that repub-
" lic; and the ſenate, far from blaming his con-
" duct, commended him for it. Services of this na-
" ture are mutually done throughout the univerſe,
" amongſt perſons of honour and probity.

" In the fifth place, I am charged with being a
" *Chriſtian* in ſecret, and with having a *Chriſtian*
" *Iman* in my houſe, who performs there the offi-
" ces of his miniſtry. Did I not obtain of *Achmet*
" III. of glorious memory, to ſay my prayers at
" home, and to have a chaplain for my wife, and
" for my ſlaves? Have not ſome *Sultans* allowed
" their favourite *Sultanas* the free exerciſe of the
" *Chriſtian* religion, with chaplains to officiate for
" them? If this were a crime, would thoſe emperors
" have ſuffered it? I have laid out large ſums, it is

" true, to deliver *Chriſtians* from ſlavery; but is " charity become a crime with you, illuſtrious war- " riors? You, I ſay, who diſtinguiſh yourſelves " thereby from all the nations in the world! Alas! " could I ſhew my charity to the *Muſſelmen*, when " there are none of them in ſlavery? And is it not " better to extend this charity to reaſonable crea- " tures, who have ſouls created by God, than to " vile animals?

" Laſtly, if I have ſent to *Venice*, a maiden " who had belonged to the *Seraglio*, was it not with " the conſent of his highneſs, and of the *Grand* " *Vizier*, who then governed the empire? Was it " not in pure complaiſance to that prime miniſter, " that I married that virgin, on condition of reſto- " ring her to her parents? Ah! generous and to be " reſpected *Vizier*, and ye invincible warriors, con- " ſider my reaſons, and afterwards condemn me to " death, if you can with juſtice and integrity."

Scarce had I ended my ſpeech, when a confuſed murmur aroſe throughout the aſſembly; ſome taking my part loudly, others approving my reaſons, and the moſt inveterate againſt me, keeping a ſullen ſilence: I was, however, ordered to withdraw, but called in again a moment after; when the *Sultan*, who had been liſtening, appeared on a ſudden, and all trembled at his ſight. Turning himſelf then towards me, " *Baſſa Bonneval*, ſaid he, with a ſmi- " ling countenance, I pardon you; or rather, I am " glad you are not guilty: you have ſpoken the " truth, and have ſhewn that the crimes, whereof " you have been accuſed, do not deſerve any pu- " niſhment. Nevertheleſs the *Divan* have con- " demned you to one year's baniſhment in the iſle " of *Chio*, and I give you the government of the " whole *Morea* in general, and of all the iſlands in " the *Archipelago*; and I expect that all the *Agas*

" and

" and *Baſſas* of thoſe parts ſhall execute your orders " as if they were my own: I leave you at liberty to " ſet out when you will, and get ſix galleys ready " to conduct you thither." This ſaid, he made a ſign to the *Vizier* to execute his commands.

I came out then, as it were in triumph from this *Divan*, where I was deſigned to have been condemned to death. My dear friend the *Kaimakan* embraced me with a ſincere joy; and at the ſame time all the officers, who an hour before would ſcarce vouchſafe me a look, ſtrove who ſhould be firſt to congaatulate me, and load me with the moſt obliging compliments; but I knew what dependance to place thereon, wherefore I anſwered them ſuitably, and according to their intention.

It may be eaſily believed, that, in the mean while my wife was in the utmoſt agony; nevertheleſs, ſhe might be well ſatisfied my life was in no manner of danger: but a tender uneaſineſs will not ſuffer them who truly love, to enjoy any reſt on ſuch occaſions. As ſoon, however, as ſhe perceived me, attended by the *Kaimakan*, and diverſe others of my friends, all her fears vaniſhed in an inſtant. Being afterwards informed of all that paſſed at the *Divan*, and of my baniſhment to the iſle of *Chio*, ſhe was overjoyed that I was to be ſent away from court, and had I hearkened to her impatience, we ſhould have ſet out for that iſland that very day; but it was abſolutely requiſite to put my affairs in order, and to ſettle them ſo, that my preſence ſhould be no longer neceſſary at *Conſtantinople*.

After having celebrated with my friends the victory I had gained over thoſe who envied my fortune, I begged my dear governor to preſent the regiment of *Salviati* to his highneſs, in my name, it being compleat, and in very good order, as well as the reſt of my little army: but *Mahomet* cauſed

me to be told, that he made a preſent of this regiment to my ſpouſe; adding, that it might perhaps be of ſervice to me at *Chio*, wherefore I ſhould have it tranſported to that iſland. He ſaid farther, that as to the other troops, he would take care to have them incorporated amongſt the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*; ordering me to give him a liſt of the beſt officers and ſoldiers that had ſerved under me, to the end they might be rewarded according to their merit; inſomuch that all had reaſon to extol the *Sultan*'s generoſity.

Amongſt the reſt, I obtained for the two *Swiſs*, who reſolved to accompany me in my exile, two commiſſions; the one of colonel of the regiment of *Salviati* for *Acher*; and the other of lieutenant colonel for *Bichop*, his companion; and beſides the ordinary pay, that was fixed for the maintenance of this regiment, an allowance of fifteen hundred aſpres a day was granted as a reward to each of them.

To add to my ſatisfaction, the *Grand Vizier*, that he might induce me to forget entirely the uneaſineſs he had coſt me, made me a viſit, on pretence of viewing my ſolitude; and next day he ſent me by the treaſurer two hundred and fifty purſes, that is, a hundred and twenty-five thouſand piaſtres. So conſiderable a ſum inſpired me with a thought: I was then very well ſtocked with ready money, wherefore I reſolved to tranſmit this ſum to *Venice*, and depoſit in the bank; conſidering that at my age I could not live long, and this money might be ſerviceable to my wife and her children, in caſe of neceſſity. The *Bailo* of that republic did me this ſervice with abundance of ſatisfaction.

Mean while, my dear *Salviati* advanced happily in her pregnancy; and had given me to underſtand, that it was not her intent ever to return to

Con-

Conſtantinople, but that ſhe would take refuge at *Padua*; where ſhe might give her children an education ſuited to their birth, and bring them up in the *Chriſtian* religion: for tho' ſhe was far from being a bigot, ſhe had a ſincere veneration for *Chriſtianity*.

Having regulated this affair, I ordered *Acher* and *Bichop* to bring from *Chiourlick* the regiment of *Salviati*, which had always remained there; and as ſoon as they had reſted a fortnight, in the neighbourhood of *Scutari*, *Bichop* put himſelf at the head of them; and led them by ſmall marches to *Smyrna*, that they might be the eaſier tranſported to *Chio*; where he arrived ſome months before me, becauſe the time of my wife's lying in approaching, I would not venture her upon the ſea, thro' fear of ſome accident; the *Sultan* granted me this favour alſo with great expreſſions of good-will. At length, ſhe was delivered of a ſon, ſuch as they paint the god of love, whom I had immediately baptized in my own chapel by father *Thomas*, a *Capuchin*, for whom I had a great veneration; *Acher* and Signiora *Barnetti* being godfather and godmother; he was named *Guſtavus Francis*. My family therefore will have the mortification to have ſome relations not *Turks*, tho' born in *Turkey*. I received on account of this birth an almoſt infinite number of compliments.

The ſix gallies being got ready for my departure, I firſt went and took my leave of the *Sultan*, and afterwards of all my friends. The evening before his highneſs had ſummoned a *Divan*; where they gave me the commiſſion of *Baſſa General* of the *Archipelago*; which new dignity, together with that of *Beglerbeg* of *Arabia*, rendered me one of the moſt powerful perſons in the *Ottoman* empire. I made a preſent of my fine houſe at *Scutari* to my dear

dear friend the *Kaimakan*; who, not to be behind with me, ſent my wife above the value of fifty thouſand piaſtres in jewels of diverſe colours, together with two pearls, in the ſhape of pears, of an extraordinary beauty and ſize.

The chief of my friends, at the head of whom was this amiable governor, came to wiſh me a good voyage, and would accompany me as far as the *Dardanelles*, where we ſtaid eight days, making ourſelves merry with the ſound of the cannon of thoſe fortreſſes; it was neceſſary, however, to part; and this parting touched me again very near: That dear friend promiſed to uſe his endeavours to get me recalled; but the fatal ſiſters cut the thread of his life three months after our ſeparation; inſomuch, that ſince that time I have hardly any hopes of returning again to *Conſtantinople*. I am the more eaſily comforted thereat, as I live here in a tranquillity not to be equalled; and all my paſt misfortunes no longer give me any uneaſineſs.

The different diſgraces I have met with, throughout the courſe of my life, have rendered me indifferent about offices and honours; and I now think only of living well, and making myſelf merry: yes, I now prefer a quiet life, to one more full of buſtle and hurry. There are ſome men who make a noiſe at the beginning, and others at the end of their lives; ſome never make any, and others do it always; all this is equal to the dead. Though I may reckon myſelf in the number of theſe laſt, I ſhall ſoon arrive at the end of my courſe; and ſome months after, it will ſcarce be remembered, that ever there was ſuch a one as count *Bonneval*.

I ride out almoſt every day with my dear *Salviati*, both to exerciſe her regiment, and to hunt: all the inhabitants of *Chio* love us more than they fear

fear us, and this without being wanting in the reſpect that is due to us. The chief of them take a real pleaſure in procuring us a thouſand agreeable diverſions; my houſe is magnificent and richly furniſhed; and I enjoy at the ſame time a view of the country, the city, and the ſea. Its waves water a fine garden, with a vaſt orchard, planted with orange and lemon, cedar, pomegranate, and other rare trees, whoſe fruits and flowers delight the ſight and ſmell all the year.

The faithful *Aiber* regulates the expences of my table and houſekeeping, and *Bichop* is my gentleman of the horſe. Theſe two *Swiſs*, who are always the companions of my innocent pleaſures, hardly ever forſake me. My taſte is altered; I am no longer of the mind of the generality of men, who only admire extraordinary actions: they are not affected with an uniform life; they hardly regard it at all; nevertheleſs, I now find it requires more fortitude, and more virtue, to ſupport one's character in common things, than in great ones, which are a ſufficient ſupport of themſelves. To win a battle, manage a negociation, or govern a province, are ſhining actions, which dazzle the eyes of men; but to ſell, pay, love, hate, laugh, and live in one's family, without ever growing remiſs, or doing any thing unworthy of one's ſelf, is more uncommon, more difficult, and leſs remarkable.

Great men often loſe much of their merit, by being too eaſy of acceſs; they are always to be viewed at ſome diſtance, and in a light which ſhew them to the beſt advantage. Such a one has been counted a hero by the world, in whom his wife and ſervants could ſee nothing more than very common: they who have never met with adverſity, do not know all the virtues of which they are capable: the profeſſion of a ſoldier, which I have followed

from my moſt tender youth, has hardened me ſo much, that I am now hardly ſenſible of what dejects moſt other men.

I now find, that to live happily, and without enemies, we muſt not be fond of the deceitful luſtre of ſublunary things: they are too frail, and too inconſtant; provided I have food and raiment I am therewith content; and fortune, who has done her worſt to me, has neither had any effect upon my ſenſes or my courage. I hope, I ſhall to the laſt be above my misfortunes; at leaſt, I will ſhew, I am not capable of thoſe things, wherewith they have taken pains to blacken me; nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, it would be mortifying enough to have no other comfort.

Being cured then of ambition, and the deſire of glory, I think myſelf but too happy, in knowing how to buſy myſelf about little things; I am even ſenſible, it is the only way to enjoy happy days; for trifles neither coſt the body nor mind any thing; and, though I am fully convinced, the working out our ſalvation, is ſufficient to fill up all the void ſpace in the mind; I muſt nevertheleſs amuſe myſelf ſome way; my natural gaity of temper incites me to be merry, ſo it is not at my neighbour's expence.

My wife, who within theſe few days has received ſome favourable news from *Padua*, is in hopes of ſoon taking a voyage thither; this ſeparation makes me ſhudder; but, as this voyage is ſtill at ſome diſtance, I comfort myſelf with the hope ſhe will change her mind, and not have the cruelty to forſake me in my old age; nevertheleſs I foreſee it will be abſolutely neceſſary, for the welfare of my ſon, who grows in beauty, as he advances in years.

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The proteſtations of good-will, which his highneſs cauſes frequently to be made to me, ſtirs up my ſelf-love from time to time; after which I begin to reflect, and then wiſh with all my heart to end my days in my exile. This iſland is an enchanting abode, were it not for the exceſſive heats, whereof we are but too ſenſible, from the month of *April*, until the end of *September*; bating this, one might affirm it is a real terreſtrial paradiſe. Its neighbourhood to *Aſia minor* leaves no room to doubt of this; and it is certain, when the *South* wind blows, it is ſcarce poſſible to breathe during the dog-days; nevertheleſs, I found the means to ſhelter myſelf from the too intenſe heats. I have cauſed a long gallery to be made, which extends a conſiderable way into the ſea; and, at the end thereof, I have had a ſtrong ſquare tower built of fifty feet diameter. The ſea riſes to the height of twenty-five feet; wherefore I have contrived a ſaloon under water, with a fine parlour, that is enlightened by windows, raiſed above the ſurface of the waves; and as the tower terminates in an open dome, whoſe cupola is glazed with cryſtal, it is as light there as in an extended plain. I eat and lie in this tower, and am therefore ſcarce ſenſible of the exceſſive heat. I may perhaps be accuſed here of being guilty of trifling with my readers, by relating ſuch trivial particulars; but let them remember, I have promiſed a circumſtantial account of my leaſt actions; that the public may ſee, they have been greatly impoſed upon about me, and that the author of the memoirs printed in my name has been guilty of unpardonable miſtakes, both in the picture he has given of my perſon, and in the deſcription of the places, where he makes me to have travelled. For inſtance, in ſpeaking of *Chio*, he avers, *the heats are neither exceſſive nor troubleſome*;

nevertheleſs I affirm the contrary. Nor is this other paſſage leſs falſe. "The government of the *Turks*, "ſays he, is very mild in this iſland; neither are "the people moleſted about their religion; even "the taxes are moderate; but their authority is ſo "much reſpected, that a packthread, faſtened at "both ends, over the door of a houſe, makes it a "priſon, out of which no one has the boldneſs to "ſtir."

And a little before he aſſures us, "Moſt of the "inhabitants are *Chriſtians*; ſome obſerve the rites "of the *Greek* church, and others thoſe of the *Latin*: "theſe are always diſputing together, like the *Je-* "*ſuits* and *Janſeniſts* in *France*."

Had the author of theſe memoirs made me land there before the year 1720, he might alſo have added, that there was a *Latin* biſhop at *Chio*, with a convent of *French Jeſuits*, and other *Italian* monaſtries; but the revolution that happened at the end of the year 1720 has greatly changed the ſituation of the *Chriſtians*. From this time they have not been allowed the free exerciſe of *Chriſtianity*, and actually there is only one chapel at the *French* conſul's, and that which is in my houſe, where the *Latin* rites are uſed. I ſhall therefore conclude theſe memoirs with giving a ſlight deſcription of this lovely country, and of that fatal revolution which occaſioned the death of above thirty thouſand *Chriſtians*, with the ſlavery of the biſhop, and the total deſtruction of the *Latin* church; but firſt we muſt ſpeak of the chevalier *Juſtiniani*, whom I found at *Chio* amongſt the galley-ſlaves, three days after my arrival at that iſland.

I know not by what means it was contrived to have a letter laid upon my wife's toilet; probably it was done by one of her women: nevertheleſs, it was kept a ſecret, nor would any one acknowledge it.

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As ſhe was a ſtranger to the hand, ſhe made a difficulty of opening it, being afraid of ſome trick: it gave her alſo ſome uneaſineſs, by reaſon of the manner of its coming to her hand: whereupon, as ſoon as I entered her apartment, a long ſtory was told me about this letter. Scarce had I ſet eyes thereon, when I knew the writing. O, ſaid I, it is from the chevalier *Juſtiniani!* I opened it therefore haſtily, and learnt the melancholy condition to which he was again reduced. As he had informed me of the place where he was kept a priſoner, I flew to his relief, and found this unfortunate gentleman in a place full of horror, and in a ſtate that drew tears from my eyes. Hereupon, I immediately condemned the miſcreant, who was guilty of ſuch cruelties, to a ſevere baſtinado, that he might learn to be more charitable to the poor wretches that were entruſted to his keeping. I then ſent for the *Reis* of the galley, to which the chevalier belonged, cauſed him to be unchained, and gave two thouſand chequins for his ranſom; not being willing to make uſe of my authority, to fruſtrate his maſter of what he had a right to demand.

After *Juſtinian* had recovered himſelf by ſome days eaſe from the terrible hardſhips he had undergone, I begged him to tell me by what new miſchance he had fallen into captivity; and his adventures ſeemed to me too affecting to be buried in ſilence; they certainly well deſerve a place in theſe memoirs, and are as follows.

The Story of the Chevalier JUSTINIANI.

GEnerous count, ſaid he, you may remember, no doubt, that I formerly told you I was ſomewhat related to your amiable lady, when having been delivered by you from the hands of the wild

Arabs, I acquainted you with my name and extraction; I think it was in your garden at *Crac*. However, though you are convinced of the truth of this, I am desirous of informing you of certain particulars, to which you are a stranger, and which accompanied my birth. I was born at *Verona*; my father, tho' one of the chief senators of *Venice*, having quitted that city, on account of some disputes he had with the *Doge*, and retired to a noble castle whereof he was possessed, together with a large estate, a league from *Verona*. This delightful place seemed to him a certain refuge, where he might enjoy that pleasing tranquility, which is never found in the tumult of a court. There being wholly employed in educating his family, consisting of a son and daughter, their mother, who was sister to the illustrious *Signora Cornaro*, having been dead two years, he had no thought of the fatal stroke which fortune was preparing for him. One night, pretty late, a stranger of a good mien, attended by four or five servants, not being able to get entrance into the city, whose gates are shut regularly an hour after sun-set, came and desired a lodging at the castle. He called himself a *German*, and pretended to be envoy extraordinary from the emperor, to negotiate an affair of importance at *Milan*. My father, the senato- *Justiniani*, charmed with his fine behaviour and politeness, not only received him very cordially, but also engaged him to stay some days with him. The unknown readily accepted of his obliging offer, and continued a whole month at the palace; where love insensibly took possession of his heart, and he looked upon my mother with a covetous eye. She was young and handsome, but a little too gallant; and was even reckoned a coquet, when my father made her his second wife. A young person of eighteen was by no means suitable to a man of threescore; but as she was some

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kin to his firſt lady, he was willing to ſecure her a fortune, the affairs of her own family being greatly out of order.

My mother's looking-glaſs, which ſhe often conſulted, had never been able to perſuade her, that modeſty was any great ornament to the fair ſex: ſhe had laid it aſide, in a manner, as rubbiſh, amongſt the old caſt-offs of her toilet. Imagine to yourſelf a young perſon of ſurprizing ſprightlineſs, of an elegant and majeſtic ſhape, of a ſweet and bewitching countenance, with a ſkin white as ſnow, ſet off with a fine lively complexion, and treſſes of a ſhining black; all theſe together muſt make a very lovely woman. As to her temper, ſhe was neither given to backbite, nor indiſcreet, nor light, nor tender, nor nice, nor faithful; nevertheleſs, when ſhe had any deſign, ſhe ſeemed to unite in her perſon, all the perfections of body and mind.

The unknown, who was young, well-made and gallant, was agreeable to her, wherefore ſhe ſtudied to gain his heart; nor could it hold out long againſt the aſſaults made upon it: too much beſet, however, at home, to dare take any liberties, they endeavoured to make amends for this conſtraint, by frequent jaunts to *Verona*, and about the neighbourhood. Theſe parties of pleaſure were too agreeable to my not very virtuous mother, for her to leave them off; however, her huſband began juſtly to be alarmed at them, and ſpoke thereof as one that was maſter, ſo ſhe was forced to obey. But they had beforehand concerted an ingenious ſcheme to ſecure themſelves from all reſtraint, which was, for the ſtranger and my mother to run away by night. Too much in love to be diſcreet, they had not the prudent precaution to conceal what courſe they had taken in their flight; my father, therefore, being informed of this diſaſter, mounts his horſe at the head of his ſervants, flies in

purſuit of them, overtakes them, and brings them back again to *Verona*, where the ſtranger ended his life upon an infamous gibbet, both as being guilty of a rape, and as being diſcovered to be a firſt-rate ſharper.

It may be eaſily believed, all this did not happen without cauſing ſome emotion in my mother, who was then ſeven months gone with me; I owed my birth, therefore, to her fright and her confuſion at the ſight of my father: ſhe was delivered of me in the midſt of one of the ſtreets of *Verona*, as they were conducting her to the houſe of a friend, who had taken upon himſelf to be anſwerable for her: ſhe was afterwards confined in a nunnery, where I believe ſhe is ſtill.

This extraordinary and premature birth, cauſed by a melancholy and ſcandalous adventure, was, in a manner, a certain preſage, that I ſhould be unfortunate all my life: at leaſt, 'till now, fortune has ſpared me very little; but, on the contrary, has always treated me in a manner ſomewhat cruel. You may well imagine I had an education, ſuitable to my condition, beſtowed upon me; I went through all my ſtudies at *Padua*; and if I did not make a proficiency therein, it was my own fault, or rather, it was the fault of love, gallantry having been my chief, or rather my only employment. I owed my life to a perſon who had been too fond of thoſe bewitching pleaſures not to have a tender heart, and one that was eaſily ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of the fair ſex; the bare ſight of them would put me into raptures and tranſports. Amongſt others, the daughter of my profeſſor captivated my affections; you may judge of my taſte and delicacy by her picture. She was a tall, lean maulkin, with a deceitful countenance, little eyes, a mouth prodigiouſly wide, and a noſe that was large and turned up: ſhe made

made an awkward appearance, had a hobbling gait, and preferred the groſſeſt manner of addreſs to refined gallantry; in ſhort, the fatigues of licentiouſneſs had made great havock with the lady's whole perſon. This ſweet one, however, appeared charming in my eyes; I loved her, ſhe did not diſlike me, nor did ſhe affect to be cruel; our hearts, therefore, being agreed together, we gave way freely to our inclinations, without putting any conſtraint upon ourſelves, and without being much upon our guard. Already, for two years, had I enjoyed all the delights that *Cupid* promiſes to thoſe who ſubmit to his empire, when I diſcovered that my perfidious miſtreſs had ſuffered another to rival me; and who ſhould it be but her father's footman? I watched her therefore very narrowly, ſurprized her, and ſacrificed her gallant to my jealouſy, by ſtabbing him to the heart. This done, I ran out of the houſe like a madman, and flew as ſwift as the wind to my father, who, loaded with years and ſorrow, daily expected death.

The ſenator *Juſtiniani*, being informed of my baſe action, would not conſent to ſee me, but ordered me to be put on board a ſhip, and ſent to *Malta*, though I was then hardly ſeventeen; he having there a brother, and ſeveral friends, who were knights of that order, and who received me very kindly. After three or four months reſidence in this iſland, my uncle propoſed to me to take upon me that order; but being ſatisfied within myſelf, that I was not able to keep the vow of chaſtity, I unboſomed myſelf to him, and declared my ſentiments. On hearing me make this objection, this venerable old gentleman could not retain his gravity; *Juſtiniani*, ſaid he ſmiling, if all the knights were as good ſoldiers as they are zealous partizans of *Venus*, they would be all invincible. Continence, amongſt us, is a virtue altogether uncommon, and is never obſerved, but

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when our exhauſted ſtrength, and irregular conduct, has rendered all ſenſual delights flat and inſipid. The ſolemn vow, therefore, that is made at the foot of the altar, ought not to give you any umbrage; gallantry appears here in a manner natural, and even frequently ſupplies the place of merit; far then from puniſhing amours, a young knight is applauded, when thoſe amuſements do not prevent his fulfilling his other duties. This great difficulty being removed, I entered myſelf into the ſacred order of *Malta*, and performed my cruiſes for ſeven years with ſome diſtinction: already had I obtained an honourable poſt, when I was taken by the galleys of *Egypt*. The *Turk*, to whoſe ſhare I fell, ſold me to a merchant of *Grand Cairo*: you know what befel me from that time to my departure from *Conſtantinople*, and all I did at *Algiers*, to procure the liberty of the chevalier *de Souvré*.

My ſtay with you, and my voyage to *Algiers*, made me unfortunately contract a friendſhip with *Borelli*, the young knight whom I redeemed at *Alexandretta*, and who embarked with me on board the *Grand Signior*'s galleys. *Borelli* diſſembled ſo artfully, and concealed with ſo much addreſs all his ill qualities, that I was deceived thereby; inſomuch that, at our return to *Malta*, having been appointed to command a galley, I earneſtly intreated my uncle to obtain for him the next poſt to me. My uncle, ſurprized at my requeſt, aſked me, in a ſerious tone, if I was well acquainted with this young knight. O! yes, anſwered I haſtily; he is a brave and perfectly honeſt man. You are miſtaken, dear nephew, replied my uncle, I will give you his true character; afterwards, if you are obſtinately bent upon having him for your ſecond captain, I will manage ſo that it ſhall be granted you: but conſider well theſe words. Imagine to yourſelf an impertinent young fellow, who,

who, full of himſelf, gives himſelf great airs, talks loud, and always in a deciſive tone; who is always aiming at a jeſt, and endeavouring to ſhine; who, fancying that nothing conceals wit ſo much as ſilence, has his mouth always open to utter an infinite number of impertinencies; a coxcomb, to whom one cannot ſay any thing ſo undeniable, that he will agree to it; who is not ſo deſirous of knowing whether it is true, as of trying whether it cannot be contradicted; who thinks you rob him of his right, if you offer to ſpeak in his preſence; whoſe memory is like a ſword in the hands of a madman; a wretch who ſhudders at the ſight of a ſabre, or at the firing of a piſtol; one who loves gaming and debauchery to exceſs; and who never games nor diverts himſelf, without creating diſputes and quarrels: accordingly, he has no friends; he has a ſtupid pride, which prevents his making advances to obtain them; and when, by chance, he has acquired or ſtumbled upon one, he never ſpares him: the firſt time he can gain any advantage by being falſe, he becomes ſo. In a word, he is a lyar, an impoſtor, a coward, a debauchee, and is endued with no one honourable ſentiment. Judge, nephew, whether ſuch a man can be any ways uſeful to you.

This advice, undoubtedly, was dictated by ſincere friendſhip; nevertheleſs, being perſuaded, that as to our reputation, it is only worth as much as others will be pleaſed to value it at, I really believed my uncle had ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed againſt this young gentleman; accordingly, I perſiſted in my deſign, and it was granted, but I had reaſon enough to repent it. Scarce had we been out at ſea ten or twelve days, before *Borelli* made an open diſcovery of himſelf; he abuſed the whole crew with ſo much inſolence, and with ſo little diſcretion, that I was obliged to reſtrain his boldneſs, after having

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firſt charitably warned him to govern himſelf better. This created a quarrel between us, and I put him under an arreſt, which I took off again four hours after. On the fifteenth day after our putting out from port, we diſcovered a ſail towards the coaſts of *Barbary*; upon which I made them tack about, and ſtand for that veſſel, and prepared for an engagement. At this news, *Borelli* came trembling to me, and told me, that this ſhip ſeemed to him too ſuperior in ſtrength to our galley, for us to run the hazard of attacking it. Oh! my friend, ſaid I, your fear undoubtedly magnifies every object; but come, ſhew your courage now, if you pleaſe, otherwiſe I will ſhoot you through the head; cowards ſtand but a ſcurvy chance with me. In effect, I muſt confeſs, his behaviour had given me a great diſlike to him. My gentleman, ſurprized at this ſpeech, and at my reſolution, endeavoured to confine his fears within his own breaſt, but at the ſame time he reſolved to be revenged upon me; and accordingly, as ſoon as I had cauſed the grappling-irons to be faſtened to the enemy's ſhip, and had mounted ſword in hand upon a plank that was thruſt out, in order to leap into the veſſel, this baſe wretch, ſeeing me at the end of the plank, follows ſoftly after me, and puſhes me into the ſea: he watched his time ſo well, that none of my men perceived my fall. I was informed of this infamous action by the captain of the corſair. As ſoon as *Borelli* ſaw me in the ſea, he cut the cords of the grappling-irons with a hatchet, and made away from the enemy's veſſel, by plying all his oars: It was then a great calm, which prevented the corſair's following him; and in a ſhort time the galley was out of cannon-ſhot. Mean while, the charitable corſair, who had been a witneſs of this treachery, had ordered his boat to ſave me; and indeed they took me out of the water very ſeaſonably, my ſtrength being

being gone, ſo that I was incapable of ſwimming any longer. This veſſel belonged to a rover of *Tunis*; the captain, however, whoſe name was *Oſman*, treated me very kindly, and endeavoured to comfort me for my misfortune by gentle and humane uſage. On our arrival at *Tunis*, he employed me in keeping in order his flower-garden, until I could have my ranſom ſent, which he had ſet at two thouſand chequins; inſomuch that, except my liberty, I had all manner of reaſon to congratulate myſelf on having fallen into the hands of this moor, for almoſt ſix months; that is, whilſt he was a ſtranger to my intrigue with one of his wives or concubines.

I have already confeſſed to you, that I have naturally a tender heart, and one greatly inclined to love; one day then, whilſt I was buſy gathering ſome flowers, which my maſter intended to preſent to one of his favourites, I obſerved, at the corner of a walk, a woman, who, after having made a ſign to me with her hand, laid ſomewhat at the foot of an orange-tree, and then ran away haſtily. I flew to the place, and found a ſmall purſe, wherein were ſix chequins, and a note, whoſe contents were as follows. "If "the lovely *Mouzouf*, (that was the name given me) "is ſenſible of the paſſion of *Zarimi*, let him be this "night at eleven at the iron-gate which locks up "the flower-garden." I muſed a long while upon the circumſtances of this adventure, and was ſenſible that in following this advice, I might expoſe myſelf to ſome troubleſome accident; but my tumultuous deſires ſilenced my apprehenſions and uneaſineſs about what might happen. I went then to the iron gate according to appointment, where the ſlave was already got before me; this artful and well-experienced agent in commiſſions of this nature, introduced me into a grotto illuminated by a number of wax lights, where *Zarimi*, reclined negligently upon a ſumptuous ſopha,

ſopha, was waiting for me with that lively impatience which true love inſpires.

She made me immediately ſit down by her, and overwhelmed me with the moſt tender careſſes: in ſhort, her beauty, wanton, ſportful, and diverting behaviour, diſpelled in an inſtant that kind of lethargy, into which this ſomewhat raſh action had plunged me; and the day ſurprized us in this delightful *Tete a Tete*, which mortified us both. It was neceſſary, however, to part; wherefore *Zarimi* ſlips away, after giving me the ſweet hopes of ſeeing her again very ſoon; nevertheleſs, above a fortnight elapſed without my hearing any news from her; and already I deſpaired of having a ſecond interview with her, when the fancy took her to put my fidelity and conſtancy to the trial. The ſlave, who had conducted me to her, gave me a letter, which, as ſhe ſaid, came from another woman. I rejected it, however, with diſdain; notwithſtanding which, *Zarimi* wrote to me the ſame day, as if I had been falſe to her, in the following terms. "Admire, ingrate, ſaid ſhe, how "great my love is to you, and tremble at your in-"conſtancy. The ſlave, who was witneſs of what "paſſed between us, has aſſured me that you have "received a letter from *Zubadieh*, *Oſman*'s favourite, "and that you have returned an anſwer thereto. It "is in my power to be revenged; nevertheleſs, my "exceſſive tenderneſs induces me to forgive you, but "it is upon condition that you ſhall ſacrifice that "woman to love. I ſhall expect you to night, at "the ſame hour and place, where you ſaw me be-"fore."

I read this letter over and over again, without knowing what to reſolve on; and I even ſpent the whole day in making uſeleſs reflections thereon; nay, night itſelf came on before I was yet determined, whether I ſhould go to the place of appointment or not:

not: however, notwithſtanding my uncertainty, I did not fail being at the iron gate; and when I heard it opened, I entered with an amorous impatience, and flew ſwiftly to the grotto, without waiting for my guide. Ah! beauteous *Zarimi*, cried I, what have I done, and what can be my crime, that you ſhould treat me with ſo much rigour? At theſe words, *Zarimi* held out her hand; and a gracious, but expreſſive ſmile, convinced me in a moment that all her anger was feigned: in effect, ſhe frankly confeſſed as much to me, and this acknowledgment quieted all my fears, ſo that I imagined myſelf arrived at the height of my happineſs. Nevertheleſs, after ſome hours enjoyment of ſo ſweet a converſation, ſhe ſeemed penſive and uneaſy; and to ſhew me that her reflections were not vain, ſhe would have had me deliver back what letters I had received from her; but I was far from being willing to reſtore them, and perceived that my unwillingneſs to comply was not diſpleaſing to her. At this ſecond interview, her diſcourſe and behaviour were ſo paſſionate, that I was ſatisfied this fair-one loved me with an exceſſive ardour; and, in effect, her tender affection continued always invariably the ſame for about the term of four months, without abating in the leaſt for one moment: then arrived the cruel period of her death, and alſo of the freſh misfortunes which, all on a ſudden, fell upon me.

I know not by what fatal chance *Oſman* became informed of our nightly meetings, but apprized of them he was; and I was altogether ignorant of it. I had indeed obſerved, that inſtead of coming as uſual into the garden after ſun-ſet, he had never been there for ſome days; but I imagined ſome important buſineſs had prevented his walking there; nevertheleſs, my heart told me every moment that ſome miſchief was brewing againſt me.

Beſides, the negro, who brought my victuals every day, ſeemed rude to me, and more gloomy than uſual; I had alſo been tormented, for two or three nights, with frightful dreams. In ſhort, already had I counted four days, without hearing any news from *Zarimi*; and for a long time not one had paſſed without my receiving ſome note from her: here then was a ſource of uneaſineſs to me without knowing why, and my mind was bewildered in a thouſand thoughts, the one more afflicting than the other. In effect, I was all in a confuſion, when the faithful ſlave of my dear miſtreſs appeared all in tears, threw me a purſe haſtily, and fled away with ſurprizing ſwiftneſs. Alarmed hereat greatly, ſcarce had I the ſtrength and preſence of mind to take it up; my wandering ſenſes multiply every object; inſtead of a hundred chequins, that were therein, I fancied I ſaw thouſands; and inſtead of one note folded up, that was at the bottom, methought there were a number of letters carefully ſealed. I opened the note, however, with inexpreſſible trouble, and found therein as follows.

"*Lovely* MOUZOUF,

"FLY this fatal place, and endeavour to make "your eſcape, that you may avoid the barba- "rous puniſhment which is preparing for you. "*Oſman* has diſcovered our meetings, and has this "moment ſacrificed me to his rage and fury. A "ſtrong poiſon, which he has forced me to ſwal- "low, is about to end my unfortunate days. Al- "ready I feel it's cruel effects within my veins; "already my blood grows chilled, and death ſtares "me in the face; the light begins to diſappear; "my eyelids are juſt cloſing; all is over; I die. "Farewel—for ever."

You

You may believe, at this fatal inſtant, my deſpair was as lively as I judged it reaſonable; I loſt an adorable miſtreſs, by whom I was tenderly beloved, and for whom I ſhould have ſhed the laſt drop of my blood, and I loſt her in an inhuman manner: Notwithſtanding I was innocent thereof, I reproached myſelf with being the ſole author of her death; and far from ſhunning the preſence of the butcher of my dear *Zarimi*, or ſtriving to eſcape, I ran to him, and demanded the puniſhment he was preparing for me. As I appeared before *Oſman*, with eyes ſparkling with rage and deſpair, the baſe wretch ſhuddered, avoided me, and fled into the midſt of his ſlaves, whom he ordered to put me in irons: This done, he ſhut me up in a dark and ſtinking dungeon, where, for ſix months, all my ſuſtenance was about two ounces of black bread each day, with a little rice and water.

After the firſt tranſports of my rage were over, I was vexed I had not followed the advice of my dear miſtreſs, being ſenſible that ſuch extravagancies would not recall her to life; wherefore, as the negro, who ſtill brought me my victuals, ſeemed moved at my ſufferings; I addreſſed myſelf to him, and offered him fifty chequins, if he would procure my liberty. After ſome objections, he accepted the money, took off my chains, and carried me out of the city; and, as *Oſman* was then cruizing, I had no reaſon to fear any ugly diſappointment. Scarce had the negro left me, when I returned ſecretly into the town, and flew to the harbour, where I found a ſmall *Spaniſh* veſſel, juſt ready to ſet ſail for *Venice*. Already we drew near to *Malta*, when we fell into the hands of the *Turks*. Two gallies, belonging to this iſland, took us, as they were returning from *Algiers*, about three months ago: Thus has fortune made me her ſport for near twenty-five years.

As ſoon as I arrived at this iſland, I heard, to my great ſorrow, that you was fallen into diſgrace with the *Sultan*; and being perſuaded you was under confinement, I would not venture to cauſe you any new trouble; inſomuch, that I had hardly any more hopes of recovering my liberty, when I was informed, two days ago, that you was arrived here, with the title of governor-general of all the *Archipelago*. This news gave me ſo lively a joy, that I ſhould attempt in vain to deſcribe it; however, it was abated an hour after, on hearing you was ſuddenly taken ill; I am glad this illneſs has been attended with no bad conſequences: This it was made me addreſs my letter to your illuſtrious lady, being fully convinced ſhe was your ſecond ſelf. Thus concluded the *Chevalier Juſtiniani*.

We proceed now to the deſcription we promiſed, with which we ſhall cloſe theſe memoirs.

Chio is one of the moſt conſiderable iſlands in the *Archipelago*, both for its bigneſs, and for its fertility and commerce. We find there, in plenty, every thing that is neceſſary for life, as wine, corn, cattle, and all ſorts of game; as alſo ſea-fiſh and freſh-water fiſh. The mutton and hares there are exquiſite, and the fruit delicious; but the wine is heady and corroſive: Beſides, the lime they put therein to refine it, renders it unwholſome: The neighbourhood, however, of *Smyrna*, makes amends for this defect. In that city, which carries on the greateſt trade of any in the *Levant*, one may have excellent wines of every country; *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *St. Laurence*, *Languedoc*, *Muſcadine* of *Tenedos* and *Zant*, with wines of mount *Libanus*, *Malvoiſia*, *Cephalonia*, *&c.*

The country in this iſland is admirable, and the proſpects inchanting; one ſees, in a manner, nothing but fine villages, interwoven with large vineyards, and vaſt orchards, planted with trees of all kinds

kinds, moſt of them ſcarce in *Europe*, and almoſt always laden with fruit, of an admirable reliſh, whoſe juice is greatly refreſhing: add to this an infinite number of fine country-ſeats, waſhed by the ſea, and accompanied with magnificent gardens; ſome barren rocks, whereon nothing grows but thyme, both cultivated and wild, ſweet marjoram, roſemary, with other odoriferous herbs, and upon whoſe tops numerous flocks ſport night and day; as alſo on hills that are manured, where the fine trees ſeem in a manner heaped upon each other; to ſum up all, a multitude of ſhips, and other veſſels, which continually cut the waves, and often mount up to the ſky, and ſink down again, with the ſame rapidity, as it were, into the vaſt abyſs, and always toſſed up and down, at the will of the ſwelling ſurges; all theſe, we ſay, form a variety and aſſemblage of ſuch ſurprizing objects, that it is almoſt impoſſible the ſight ſhould be ever wearied out; on the contrary, the lovely proſpects make it more eager, rather than ſatisfy and tire it.

This is a juſt repreſentation of this delicious iſland; another deſcription would be uſeleſs and tedious: hardly any one is ignorant of its ſituation, length, breadth, degree of longitude and latitude, its number of towns and villages, diverſe travellers having given a circumſtantial and exact account thereof.

The greateſt part of the inhabitants are of the *Greek* church; there are but few *Roman* catholics, and many *Jews:* there are alſo *Maronites*, *Cophtes*, and *Turks*. All this medley of people are as much diverſified by their manners, as by their opinions, notwithſtanding which they live in a pretty good underſtanding together. All the inhabitants there in general are good tempered, affable and obliging, but ſtrongly devoted to their own intereſts. The *Greeks* eſpecially diſtinguiſh themſelves, by a ſordid covetouſneſs; and it often happens, that their diſ-

putes, on this accouut, give a good deal of trouble to the *Cadis*, atd other *Turkiſh* magiſtrates, who adminiſter juſtice in that iſland with great integrity. It is now abbut two months ſince I was eye-witneſs to a little adventure, which will diſcover perfectly well the character of this people.

A *Sicilian* renegade having brought me a complaint againſt a *Greek*, a native of this iſland, in order to be paid the ſum of thirty piaſtres, which he had lent him, the *Greek*, whoſe name was *Kobbi*, made oath, that he had ſatisfied the *Turk*; and as I never had a good opinion of the *Sicilians*, and yet leſs of the renegades, I believed the *Greek*, and gave the apoſtate a ſevere reprimand; who being exaſperated at my moral lecture, formed the deſign to uſe *Kobbi* ill, and to cut down a number of olive trees that belonged to him. However, before he proceeded to this violence, he came to me, and ſwore horribly, that the *Greek* had not returned him his money; and to prove I ſpeak the truth, added he, here is his note, which he certainly would not have left in my hands, had he given me the thirty piaſtres.

I ſent therefore for *Kobbi* to defend his cauſe, and he again proteſted that this man ought to be ſatisfied. *Did not you write to one of my daughters*, ſaid he, *that, if ſhe would lie with you, you would diſcharge me from the debt? has not ſhe done it? No*, anſwered the renegade, *I agreed with her for eight nights, and ſhe came to me but ſix. Well then*, ſays the *Greek*, *there are the ſix piaſtres, that remain due to you; neverthelefs, none of my daughters paſs a night with a man, under ſix piaſtres; but, in reſpect to the illuſtrious* Baſſa, *I will be contented now with four. She is actually engaged at preſent, for a month, with a captain of* Provence, *at ten piaſtres a night: wherefore return my note, and let us hear no more of this affair.*

I muſt own, this little ſcene threw me into the utmoſt aſtoniſhment; however, as ſoon as I had recollected my ſpirits, after a moment's conſideration, I reſolved to terrify the *Greek*, that I might render him wiſer for the future. Wherefore, "how now "wretch, ſaid I! how dare you confeſs ſo infa- "mous an action before me? are not you aſhamed "of proſtituting your daughters in this manner? "did you only give them their being, to cauſe the "perdition of their ſouls. I will have you chaſtiſed "ſo ſeverely, that the puniſhment ſhall retain you "in your duty."

"Illuſtrious governor, anſwers this man, with "great calmneſs and unconcern, ſuch is the cuſtom "of this iſland; daughters have no other way of "getting their livelyhood, and they are the ſupport "of their families. Beſides, I never heard this was "any crime nor ſin; and if heaven puniſhes it in "the other world, in all probability, all mankind "will be damned: but I believe the ſupreme being "troubles himſelf very little about this trifle. Be- "ſides, I muſt maintain my family." "Vile wretch, "ſaid I, are you then miſerably poor? No, illuſ- "trious *Baſſa*, anſwered *Kobbi*, I am worth above "a hundred thouſand piaſtres, both in land and "money. Well! then, reſumed I, I condemn "you to ſuffer fifty baſtinadoes, or to pay a fine of "five hundred piaſtres to the poor. Oh! illuſ- "trious *Baſſa*, cryed this wretch, I chuſe the baſ- "tinadoes: in a week's time I ſhall be recovered; "and it will coſt me above three months to regain "that money." I muſt confeſs, his anſwer confounded me; however, being of opinion, that this chaſtiſement might chance to make an impreſſion upon others of his ſort, I cauſed twenty ſtrokes of a cudgel to be given him, upon the ſoles of his feet, according to the cuſtom, and then diſmiſſed him.

Next day I was yet more ſurprized; ten of the principal inhabitants of the iſland demanded audience of me, and preſented me a petition, deſiring of me, as a favour, not to aboliſh this cuſtom; aſſuring me, it was a practice, eſtabliſhed time out of mind; in ſhort, they repreſented to me, that if I would not permit it, a great number of families would be reduced to beggary; and that they might prevail on me the eaſier, they added a preſent of a thouſand chequins, but I rejected it with indignation. Nevertheleſs, I was obliged to wink at this licentiouſneſs, finding it was abſolutely impoſſible to put an end thereto.

It may be eaſily judged, by this little ſtory, that the wives and ſingle women in this iſland, are far from being either modeſt or virtuous; and it is a great pity; for almoſt all of them are endued with beauty, ſprightlineſs, and good humour; in ſhort, they are very amiable.

It has been already obſerved, that the exerciſe of the *Chriſtian* religion is hardly tolerated, at preſent, in this iſland; at leaſt, not according to the *Latin* church, the reaſon whereof is as follows.

Every one knows, that the *Loyoliſts* are not only very looſe in their morals, but inſatiably greedy of heaping up riches, of aggrandizing themſelves, and of endeavouring to lord it as much over the eſtates of their followers, as over their conſciences. This holy and devout ſociety then of *Jeſus*, had a large and handſome convent in the city, together with a ſpacious garden; but one which was not of ſufficient extent, in their opinion. That of the *Turkiſh Aga*, or governor, was adjacent thereto; they therefore beheld it with a covetous eye, in order to enlarge their own.

Beſides, they had long been deſirous of having the proſpect of the harbour and the ſea; it was concluded therefore amongſt them, to make themſelves maſters

maſters of this garden, as its high walls prevented their having this view: what a great unhappineſs was it, for theſe good fathers, not to enjoy at once all the pleaſures of life! for the vows they make at the foot of the altar, do not ſubject them to ſuch grievous mortifications.

The intrigues of the *Loyoliſts* in the *Levant* are juſt the ſame as at *China:* they are perpetually making gatherings, on pretence of redeeming ſlaves; but they are far from employing the immenſe ſums they collect, in ſo pious a work. On the contrary, they appropriate to their own uſe the moſt conſiderable part; and the reſt is laid out, in buying the converſion of the ſchiſmatic *Greeks*; being perſuaded, that a great number of proſelytes maintains their reputation better, and encourages more the charity of their votaries. They ſpare no pains therefore, to bring over the *Greeks* to the *Roman* church; and as that nation prefers money infinitely before religion, a number of poor ignorant wretches willingly change to gain a trifling ſum. It is alſo well known, that the *Jeſuits* are very ſparing in their charities; they always ſuit them to the condition of the perſons, and to the ſervices they propoſe to receive from them; ſo that by employing every year the hundredth part of the gifts made them, they purchaſe a multitude of proſelytes.

Already above fifteen thouſand were reckoned to be in the iſle of *Chio*, all entirely devoted to their ſervice, and very zealous for the intereſt of the venerable ſociety. With ſuch a retinue, they gave themſelves great airs, and wanted in a manner to be abſolute maſters of the iſland. As ſoon then, as the *Aga* was changed, they gave notice to the new one, that the houſe and garden, poſſeſſed by his predeceſſor, belonged to them; and that they had long purchaſed that ground; and, in ſhort, that

they would not allow him to take up his reſidence there.

The *Aga*, though aſtoniſhed at ſuch a declaration, anſwered civilly, that he would write about it to the *Sublime Porte*; and that it was but juſt to reſtore their property to them, if it really was theirs; but that, in the mean while, until he could have an anſwer, he could not lie in the ſtreet, and that he had no other lodging. So prudent an anſwer ought in reaſon to have ſatisfied them; but, on the contrary, the haughty *Loyoliſts* aſſemble their followers, form a kind of army, put themſelves at the head of them, force open the governor's houſe, and turn him out of doors: and as at that time there were not above four or five hundred *Turks* in the iſland, they were obliged to ſubmit to violence; inſomuch that the *Aga*, after having loſt all his effects, which were plundered by this mob, was conſtrained to go beg a lodging at one of his friends.

It may be well judged, that ſo licentious a behaviour, and ſo enormous an outrage, rendered the *Sublime Porte* not much diſpoſed to favour the *Chriſtians*; and accordingly *Achmet* III. ordered ſix *Sultanas*, a kind of large *Turkiſh* veſſels, to be ſent to *Chio*, with four thouſand *Janizaries*, who ſoon reduced the rebels to reaſon.

Mean while, the *Jeſuits* being ſecretly apprized, that the ſtorm was about to fall upon them, embarked all their effects during the night aboard a veſſel, and diſappeared, making their eſcape to *Smyrna*, where they concealed themſelves carefully amongſt the *Chriſtians*. Though they alone were guilty, they ſuffered not the puniſhment of their inſolence. The perſecution then fell on the *Roman Catholics*; and eſpecially upon the biſhop, whom they condemned to ſlavery, with the principal perſons of the iſland: beſides this, all their effects were confiſcated, and it coſt immenſe ſums to procure their liberty.

liberty. All the monaſteries alſo were deſtroyed, and the religions baniſhed for ever; the churches likewiſe were converted into moſques, nor has the free exerciſe of the *Roman* catholic religion been allowed any where, ſince that time, but in the houſe of the *French* conſul; neither had it been permitted there, had it not been for the friendſhip and eſteem the *Sultan* had for the marquis *de Bonac*, then embaſſador at the *Ottoman* porte; and in vain have the *Chriſtians* of the *Latin* church exerted their utmoſt efforts, to re-eſtabliſh themſelves at *Chio*, the *Turks* never would ſuffer it.

It was, therefore, for want of being informed of this revolution, that the author of the above-mentioned memoirs, pretends the *Latin* and *Greeks* are always diſputing in this Iſland, like the *Jeſuits* and *Janſeniſts* in *France*. Beſides, all the *Greek Papas*, or prieſts, are ſo very ignorant, that the greateſt part of them are ſcarce able to read their liturgy: in effect, their faith is ſo confuſed, ſo much perplexed with vain fancies, and ſo corrupted by their licentiouſneſs, that it is impoſſible for a man of honeſty and honour, to avoid ſhedding tears, for the blindneſs and impiety of a people, formerly ſo much enlightened, and who were able to carry the moſt abſtracted notions to a high degree of perfection. Wherefore, far from being able to maintain their opinions, by ſolid and rational arguments, and to unravel the ſophiſtry of the *Jeſuits*, they can ſcarce give a diſtinct account of their faith, or rather of their tenets. This induces the ſubtle *Loyoliſts* never to diſpute with them about religion, having a more certain way to make them embrace popery: inſtead then of convincing them by good proofs, they have recourſe to money; being ſatisfied that this is to them an irrefragable argument, that will ſupply the place of the moſt evident demonſtrations. We believe the reader will be perſuaded by this account,

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and hope it will abſolutely overthrow the credit of thoſe pretended diſputes, which the author of the forged memoirs has aſcribed to the *Greeks* and *Latins*.

Such are my real adventures: I wiſh my ſincerity, which appears here, in a clear light, may procure me the ſatisfaction that I propoſed to myſelf in publiſhing them; and my only view was, to deſtroy thoſe falſe notions, which the world had formed of my conduct: I ſhall now conclude with ſome reflections, which perhaps may not be diſagreeable.

It is not without good reaſon, the underſtanding is ſaid to be frequently a bubble to our inclination; and that men rather judge of actions, according to their own deſires, than according to truth, which, nevertheleſs, ought not to be rendered ſubſervient to our paſſions. It is owing to this deceit, that certain crimes are reckoned but ſmall, amongſt whole nations, whilſt the ſame are looked upon with horror amongſt other people.

Fornication, for inſtance, is not counted a great ſin by the *Italians*, whereas in other countries they think quite otherwiſe. The *Turks* admit of plurality of wives; which, amongſt *Chriſtians*, is eſteemed an horrible offence, and worthy of death: but then again the *Chriſtians* make no great ſcruple of oppreſſing the unfortunate, or of ſlandering their neighbour. All their converſation turns upon ſcandal, and they who have the beſt knack at ſatyrizing this woman or that man, are deemed the moſt witty and the beſt company.

The inhabitants of the *North* have other favourite vices, ſuitable to their climate and diſpoſition; the moſt reputable perſons there are not aſhamed of being drunk; inſomuch, that our paſſions have almoſt the ſame effect upon our mind, as prejudice and prepoſſeſſion. The averſion we have for

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ſome people, prevents our diſcerning thoſe good qualities in them, of which they are poſſeſſed, and which all the world beſides obſerves. On the contrary, friendſhip blinds our eyes, and cauſes the imperfections of perſons we love to ſeem imperceptible to us: our ſelf-love hoodwinks us in a manner ſo much, that it hinders our knowing our own hearts; and we aſcribe to others thoſe defects, that are only in ourſelves.

If we are diſputing about any thing, we term thoſe who oppoſe our ſentiments, ſelf-conceited and obſtinate, becauſe the ſpirit of contention darkens the eyes of right reaſon, and corrupts the judgment. This is obſervable every day, in thoſe who maintain any ſyſtem; the obſtinate prejudices of divines, eſpecially of bigots, is a convincing proof of this. Inſtead of good arguments, they uſually overwhelm you with reproaches, and coarſe invectives: theſe are prelates, prieſts, and miniſters. Oh! theſe formidable names no reaſon will avail; all muſt give way to their bombaſt, unleſs one would undergo the ſeverity of a bitter revenge. Thus it is the truth is preached, in theſe unhappy times, when an arbitrary and dogmatical temper overrules good ſenſe, and the moſt undeniable proofs.

The only fear of theſe holy men is, that they ſhould be convinced of the truth, when it contradicts their own opinions; in this caſe, they cry out like perſons poſſeſſed, and have recourſe to an hundred ſubterfuges, leſt they ſhould be made to ſee the falſity of their reaſonings. Nevertheleſs, what can one deſire better than to be undeceived when one is miſtaken? this it is makes men obſtinate in maintaining old opinions, although they are ſhewn the falſity of them, by indiſputable arguments.

It is well enough known by experience, that conteſts about religion, never produced any advantageous effects; becauſe the two parties engage therein,

therein, with a positive resolution not to alter their opinion. Nevertheless, the end of disputing should be to terminate the differences that occasion them; and men would certainly gain their point, if on both sides they would argue with a mind void of passion and prejudice, without being wedded to the one or to the other opinion; and if we would embrace the truth as soon as it is apparent to us, would it not then be more proper to yield, than to dispute on obstinately? especially, as the things about which men grow so hot, are generally very frivolous. In short, I know not how mankind can be so extravagantly fond of their own opinions, however idle they may be; they reject all arguments that are brought to prove the fantasticalness of their false taste: but what is most incomprehensible, is, to see that of these haughty persons, these guides of the people, who have so high an opinion of themselves, and their own sufficiency, the one always maintain the contrary of what others advance. In this case, their choler is highly provoked, and if they want good arguments to support their opinions, reproachful and scornful names issue in clusters out of their devout mouths: from bitterness they proceed to affronts; and from affronts to enmity, and an implacable hatred, which they retain to their graves; happy if it terminates there, and if they do not bequeath it, instead of inheritance, to their posterity. Wherefore, so far are expostulations from having the desired effect, that it is very seldom they prove successful; because scarce any one will renounce his prejudices, and the notions that are engraven on his mind.

This makes me apprehensive, the memoirs I publish, will not overthrow the calumnies wherewith I have been blackened; for it is almost in vain to declare war against received prejudices. They, who are prepossessed therewith, look upon

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your excuſes as an offence, and a contemptible pedantry. This true account then of my conduct will make an impreſſion, at moſt, but upon a very ſmall number of perſons; the falſe opinion they have conceived of me, are too deeply rooted into moſt part of the inhabitants of *Europe*; wherefore, I don't flatter myſelf with the thought of perſuading them to the contrary, by this ſincere relation of my moſt ſecret actions; ſince that is almoſt impoſſible. I hope, however, that my views may induce them to make ſome ſolid reflections upon charity, which is the foundation of all ſects, and eſpecially of the *Chriſtian* religion.

My life has been very full of croſſes; but God, my honour, and time, have been able phyſicians, even for thoſe evils, that ſeemed to me the moſt incurable. It is true, I am not yet devout, if, fearing God a thouſand times more than death, and loving him as well as a human ſoul can an infinite and incomprehenſible being, will not make me ſo. Such have I been for above ſix years; what ſeems new upon this head, to many people, is no longer ſo to me. Nevertheleſs, I own, I am not yet well reclaimed, as to certain natural defects; but, by the help of reflection, I ſubmit to the will of him, who makes greater men ſuffer than me.

The imperfections of one's temper, thank heaven, are ſoon corrected, by patience and reſignation. The little concern I ſhew, about any thing that paſſes at the *Sublime Porte*, puts it out of the power of my enemies to hurt me: and I can truly aver, that I have been greatly troubled within theſe few days, on hearing the Sultan intended to recall me to court. I even beſeech heaven this may never happen; and if it ſhould not vouchſafe me this favour, I have reſolved to renounce all the honours that may be propoſed me. Perhaps I may be obliged to add to theſe memoirs, ſome other remarkable events

events, which, as I believe, will infallibly happen, if I am recalled from my exile. I foreſee certainly, that I muſt again abandon my delicious abode in this iſland; which abode, I declare, is more agreeable to me than the moſt ſhining fortune, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed employments. My wife, my dear *Salviati*, is preparing to ſet out for *Venice*; and prefers the rigour of abſence, to the dangers of this inconſtant court, where I was once already *very near* being ſhipwrecked.

THUS end the memoirs of baſhaw count *de Bonneval*, which we have hitherto tranſlated; but as he is now gone to his long home, the reader will naturally expect that we ſhould attend him to his laſt hour; and it happens very luckily, that we are able to afford him this ſatisfaction, from papers of inconteſtable authority, his laſt letters to his brother, the marquis *de Bonneval*; and tho' we can draw nothing from them, that will appear in ſo gay, ſo pleaſant, and ſo chearful a light, as every thing does that is recorded in the memoirs; yet we can do more, we can communicate thoſe ſecrets, that would never have been revealed in a work of that nature, becauſe how little prudence ſoever the count *Bonneval* might be bleſſed with, yet he would never divulge, or ſuffer to be divulged, thoſe tender and intereſting points, upon which his perſonal credit, as well in *France*, as at the *Porte*, abſolutely depended. Theſe we have in our power, and are under no obligation whatever to conceal them; they are equally curious and certain: to which we may add, that they may claim a better reception at preſent, becauſe they will ſerve to lay open the ſecret ſprings of an affair, that before theſe ſheets come from the preſs, is like to attract the attention of the whole chriſtian world. Let us then, without farther

farther introduction, reſume the thread of his ſtory, as it is here let fall, and quit it no more till it drops, together with him, in the grave.

Oſman was recalled to court, and began to enter again into credit with the *Turkiſh* miniſters: They had compared ſome of his memorials with events, and were taught by experience, that he had formed a truer judgment of things than they imagined. It was for this reaſon that they were deſirous of conſulting with him again, and to put him into a good humour, they not only careſſed him extremely, but applied pretty liberally the grand cordial that was then in faſhion at *Conſtantinople*; tho' from the known virtue of our northern climates, it becomes requiſite to uſe a plainer term, and to ſay in downright *Engliſh*, they made him conſiderable preſents in ready money. This univerſal opium raiſed his ſpirits extremely, inſomuch, that he ventured to acquaint the miniſters that conferred with him, with his ſentiments, as to the miſtakes made, both by the *Grand Vizier* and by M. *de V*—— the *French* miniſter, who concluded the treaty of *Belgrade*, in 1741. Before we enter directly into that matter, it will be requiſite to take things a little higher, and to ſay ſomewhat of the cauſes of that implacable hatred, which our *French* baſhaw bore to the *French* miniſter.

It ſeems, that upon the firſt coming of count *Bonneval* into *Turkey*, the emperor's miniſter at the *Porte* demanded that he ſhould be given up, in vertue of an article of the treaty of *Paſſarowitz*, as being in the *Auſtrian* ſervice. To diſengage himſelf, count *Bonneval* preſſed the *French* miniſter to demand him as a ſubject of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; which for ſome reaſons, beſt known to himſelf, he refuſed to do; to which count *Bonneval* aſcribed his being obliged to lay aſide his peruke and aſſume the turban. However that matter might be,

be, it is pretty certain that count *Bonneval* wrote to *France* in the moſt bitter terms, againſt the marquis *de V*——; who, if he told truth, was deſcended from a Jewiſh family, that had gained a great fortune by trade at *Marſeilles*; and he was deſirous to have it believed, that this miniſter had carried his hereditary inclination to traffick even to *Conſtantinople*; where, by his addreſs, he had found means to part with ſome inviſible commodities at a very high price. In ſhort, while we in *Europe* thought that the courts of *Vienna* and *Petersburgh* were hardly dealt with, in the treaty which that miniſter negotiated for them with the *Porte*, *Oſman* baſhaw was in quite oppoſite ſentiments, and either apprehended, or pretended to apprehend, that the *Turks* were over-reached in that bargain, and that their *French* broker brought the peace to market, at leaſt twenty-five *per cent.* under *par*.

Now whether there was really any truth in this, or whether the plauſible diſcourſes of *Oſman* baſhaw, impoſed upon the *Turkiſh* miniſters, which is at leaſt as probable; ſo it was, that his notions gained ground, and made way for reviving that ſyſtem, of which he had been in former times, and when his credit was at the greateſt height, a very warm patron. To that ſyſtem, therefore, let us turn our eyes; the rather, becauſe thoſe who underſtand the *Turkiſh* affairs beſt, believe them conſtant, or rather obſtinate, in purſuing any opinions that they once think they comprehend; and in conſequence of that notion embrace. It is true, the party that were our baſhaw's pupils, by a ſudden and unexpected turn in affairs, loſt their power, but not their ambition, which prompted them to continual intrigues in the ſeraglio; which, by degrees, have worked out all their opponents, ſo that this faction is again predominant. But to our baſhaw's ſyſtem.

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He took care to ſhew the Muſſelmen ſtateſmen, that the *Turkiſh* empire ought to hold a certain rank, and have a degree of influence, which he deſcribed, upon the affairs of *Europe*. He gave them ſome notion of the conſequence of this: what an effect it would have upon their domeſtic concerns; and what a ſupport it might become, if not to the grand ſignior, at leaſt, to a grand vizier, when he happened to be a man of extenſive knowledge, and real abilities. He obſerved, that they might ſee the difference between great power in a mere ſtate of nature, and the ſame power when directed by maxims of true policy, in the empire of *Ruſſia*; which, until the reign of *Peter the Great*, remained with all its power a prey to her neighbours; but has been a terror to them ever ſince he opened their eyes, with reſpect to the conſequences which muſt neceſſarily follow, this alteration of affairs, in the face of *Europe*, and more eſpecially in the *North*. He convinced them, that the notion entertained by the former vizier, of the *Porte*'s only changing their enemies, and having inſtead of the *Poles*, the *Muſcovites* upon her hands, was a mere deluſion; becauſe in fact they had the *Poles* and the *Muſcovites* too, but that the latter was by far the moſt dangerous enemy, as well on account of their being in a ſtate of growth and vigour, as becauſe of the difference of their governments; the *Muſcovites* living under an abſolute monarch, and the *Poles* having, in reſpect to their neighbours, loſt above half a century ago, ſo much as the appearance of any government at all. The inference he made from hence was, that if his ſublime highneſs, the grand ſignior, deſired to have any reſpect paid him by the reſt of the *European* powers, he muſt either by dint of war, or of negociation, find out an effectual method of humbling the *Ruſſians*; and that when this came to be maturely deliberated

upon, the former would be found much the more practicable method of the two. When he was desired to explain himself more at large, he shewed what benefits the *Turks* had reaped from their alliances with the crown of *France*, by which they were still in possession of a great tract of country, of which they had otherwise long ago been despoiled by the house of *Austria*, and the *Venetians*; but that the balance was now altered, and therefore it behoved them to think of some new weight, that might be cast in, so as to render the scales once more even, if they meant to preserve the empire of the *Ottomans*.

This weight he plainly demonstrated could be no other than *Sweden*, a northern power, naturally jealous of *Russia*, very capable of causing a timely diversion, and with all this an ancient ally, not only of the crown of *France*, but of the *Ottoman* empire. It was objected, that when he proposed this system before, and the arguments he offered were communicated to Mr. *V*———, he had treated them with some contempt, looking upon a league between the *Porte* and *Sweden*, like that between the flea and the camel, which is a *Turkish* proverb to express unequal alliances. To this, bashaw *Bonneval* replied, that Mr. *V*——— was a curiosity, and most unaccountably trusted to regulate the concerns of countries, which he could not so much as find out upon a map. That they might guess at his capacity by the question he asked the *English* minister, on which side *Spain* bordered upon *Holland?* and being told, that they were at a great distance, he replied, how came they then to have such long wars, one against the other? But continued bashaw *Bonneval*, enquire of the minister that is come in his place: he is a man of quality, a man of parts, and a soldier, and has nothing in him of the pedlar or the *Jew*. There is little reason to doubt, that the marquis *de C*——— confirmed all that our ba-

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ſhaw had ſaid, and the lectures that were afterwards read to the *Divan*, from the memorials of count *Teſſin*, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to this ſyſtem, as the world would have found, if that ſet of miniſters had not been ſoon after ſupplanted.

This revolution did not affect baſhaw *Bonneval*; on the contrary, he was careſſed by the new miniſtry, tho' they did not adopt his ſyſtem; but, on the contrary, raiſed many freſh objections, which did not a little pique our politician. He told them, therefore, at laſt, that he knew they would never embrace his plan; becauſe it was inconſiſtent with their private ſchemes; but that however he would furniſh them with an inſtance, which would ſufficiently demonſtrate, that the plan he propoſed was the only one that could reſtore or even ſupport the *Ottoman* power. His inſtance was, demanding the entire demolition of *Aſoph*. This had been ſtipulated by ſeveral treaties, and particularly by the laſt; but the *Muſcovites* had always evaded it: and it was thought, that another court conſented to, if they did not prompt, that meaſure; the knowledge of which hindered the *Turks* from preſſing that matter ſo cloſely, as they would otherwiſe have done: becauſe, tho' a thing of importance, it was not a thing of ſuch importance, as to be made the ground of a war. At this juncture, the emperor *Charles* VI. being dead, the affairs of *Ruſſia* in ſome diſorder, and the *Swedes* in arms, when the demand was made at *Petersburg*, it was judged requiſite to comply with it, which gave ſome reputation to the *Turkiſh* miniſters, tho' it did not induce them to change their meaſures.

This will ſuffice to ſhew the reader, that *Oſman* baſhaw was not idle in *Turkey*; that he wanted not capacity as a politician, as well as an officer; and that he was very able to keep himſelf upon his feet, upon what ground ſoever he chanced to fall; it is

alſo enough to prove, that he had a principal hand in eſtabliſhing that new ſyſtem, upon which it is more than probable, the *Porte* will ſometime or other proceed, and perhaps too, that time is at no great diſtance. Theſe are things that are certainly worth knowing; and, as we hinted before, were not like to be revealed in any memoirs, publiſhed during the life of count *Bonneval*. They ſeem indeed to be the laſt flaſhings of his genius, for we hear of nothing that he did after this; or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, there was nothing left for him to do: the plan of the miniſtry was entirely pacific; and whatever impreſſion his diſcourſe might make on their underſtandings, their inclinations were not to be gained. This he knew well enough, and therefore contented himſelf with maintaining his credit, and enjoying his acquaintance, which were very conſiderable.

The poſt he had, was that of *Topigi* baſhaw, which to render according to our manner, as well as into our language, is *maſter of the ordnance*; a poſt of great honour and profit; and not as ſome have repreſented it, a kind of chief gunner. The *Topigi* baſhaw has not barely the direction of the train, but of all the magazines and military ſtores in the empire, and has ſeveral great officers under him; in time of war he commands a diſtinct corps of troops, which march under the ſtandard of artillery, deſtined to guard the park, when the *Ottoman* army is in the field, or employed in the ſiege of any fortreſs. The *Turks* have a very regular military, as well as civil eſtabliſhment; in which the force and the pay of every corps in their ſervice is diſtinctly regiſtred. Amongſt theſe we find the *Topigi* baſhaw and his troops, but their number is never limited, becauſe it increaſes or decreaſes, as the exigencies of ſtate require. Of theſe troops the miners make a very conſiderable part, and are the

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moſt active and able in this diviſion of the *Turkiſh* militia, as the bombardiers are the worſt. *Oſman Topigi* baſhaw was extremely fit for this employment, and taught the *Turkiſh* officers many things, with which they were unacquainted before. He lived in a houſe belonging to his office, kept a good table, and abundance of company; ſome reſorting thither for the ſake of mirth and good chear; others purely out of curioſity; and not a few of the *Europeans*, on the ſcore of their former acquaintance; and to all his gueſts he knew how to behave in a manner the moſt obliging, ſo that to the very laſt he wanted not the appearance of many, and the comfort of ſome real friends; which, conſidering the courſe of life he had led, was not a little aſtoniſhing. His ſtrength and ſpirits began to be impaired, for ſome months before his death; and as his infirmities increaſed, he became reſerved and thoughtful, but never peeviſh. It is reported, that in his laſt moments, he had the aſſiſtance of a prieſt, but that may be doubted. Thus much is true, that he did not ſpeak at all the language of a renegade, but on the contrary, it was his uſual ſaying, that the habit did not make the monk: however, conſidering the manner in which he lived, it is of no great importance to the world, in what faith he died: we may charitably hope it was not without repentance.

He breathed his laſt at *Conſtantinople*, *March* 22, 1747, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age; leaving behind him a ſon, *Solyman Aga*, for whom he ſhewed great tenderneſs; and whom a little before, he recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible to the miniſters of his acquaintance, with whom his interceſſion had ſo much weight, that he ſucceeded him in his employments. As to the genius of this man, we know nothing; and therefore ſhall not attempt to impoſe our own fancies, or fictions upon the